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ABSTRACT

This is the proceedings of a symposium organized by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the purpose of focusing on exisiting problems in and future strategies for promoting television programming services to minority audiences. Included are a prologue, "In Search of Diversity," by Howard Myrick; a foreword, "Minorities in Public Broadcasting: Three Essential Concepts," by Jose Rivera; and the following papers: (1) "The Missing Minority in Mass Communications Research," by Marilyn Diane Fife; (2) "Asian-American Audience Research and Public Broadcasting Programming," by K. Kyoon Hur; (3) "Communication Research on Black Americans," by Richard L. Allen; (4) "Latinos in Public Broadcasting," by Nicholas A. Valenzuela; (5) "Anthropological Approaches to Research on Minority Audiences," by E. B. Eiselein; (5) Content Analysis: More Than Just Counting Minorities," by Nancy Signorielli; (7) "Toward the Production of Minority Audience Characteristics," by Oscar Gandy, Jr.; (8) "Qualitative Research and Its Relevance to Minority Audience and Programming Concerns," by Thomas A. Hardy; and (9) "Emerging Telecommunications Technologies, Public Telecommunications and People of Color," by Nolan A. Bowie. A communication research agenda, based on the participants' contributions, is appended to the proceedings, as is a list of symposium participants and staff. (GC)

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IN SEARCH OF DIVERSITY

SYMPOSIUM ON MINORITY AUDIENCES AND PROGRAMMING RESEARCH: APPROACHES AND APPLICATIONS

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PREFACE

Public broadcasting repeatedly has committed itself to serving the needs and interests of minority audiences. Unfortunately for the researcher attempting to track and facilitate the implementation of this policy, standard audience research practices are geared to the study of mass audiences and cannot adequately address minority audience research and programming issues.

In October 1980, the Office of Communication Research (OCR) assembled prominent researchers in the field of minority audience research and programming to discuss the implications of their work for future CPB activities. Representatives included academic scholars, program managers and researchers from local public television stations, and the PBS research office.

Commissioned papers and symposium deliberations, as presented in this report, covered stereotypical portrayals and/or underrepresentation of blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asian Americans in contemporary radio and television program content; summaries of past research findings on the nature of such representational inaccuracies and their effects on individuals; the abilities of current and newly developing research methodologies to address related policy and operational issues; and recommended priorities for OCR's future research activities.

Grateful appreciation is extended to the researchers and programmers whose commitment and capabilities produced such informative and motivating sessions. A special acknowledgment is reserved for Marilyn Fife, symposium manager, for her conceptual and organizational contributions to this project.

Howard A. Myrick, Ph.D.
Director
Office of Communication Research

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Office of Communication Research

PROLOGUE

In Search of Diversity

Howard Myrick

We choose to call this meeting *A Symposium on Minority Audiences and Programming Research: Approaches and Applications.* As the title suggests, our purpose is the scholarly pursuit of knowledge needed by programming officials and policy makers at all levels, national and local, in the public telecommunications industry.

Lest our erudite title and lofty purpose obscure our most immediate concern, perhaps it would be most fitting and useful to state at the outset that our overriding purpose is the promotion of programming service to minority audiences. To the extent that our deliberations contribute to this central purpose, we shall contribute to the attainment of even larger institutional objectives.

To that extent, also, shall we contribute to the development of effective strategies to deal with the reality that, as yet, minorities are not viewing, listening, contributing funds, and most importantly, not participating or involved in public broadcasting at levels commensurate with their incidence in the population. Until they are, none of us in public broadcasting can feel content.

The improvement of service to minority audiences is a long-standing, long-accepted mandate for public broadcasting.

Our symposium is, in part, a result of the Office of Communication Research's commitment to the spirit and intent of the recommendations of the Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting. To a larger extent, however, it is attributable to my office's firm conviction that research can and must play an essential role in achieving better programming by, for and about minorities, and in better understanding the program preferences and needs of minority viewers and listeners.

Because our concern is the development of action-oriented recommendations, this symposium is convened not for researchers alone, but also for producers, academics, programmers, policy makers and program decision makers. It is this combination of professionals that promises to provide the synergy needed for the development of reality-based input for informed decision making.

As with any attempt to bring together a diverse group of people with wide-ranging interests and commitments, not everyone we invited was able to come. But the group we have convened reflects well the United States population and is certainly more representative than public broadcasting is in general. We are not "minori-

ties talking to minorities," nor are we "majorities talking about minorities." We are a diverse group assembled to talk about all our interests.

As representatives of many different American experiences, we shall spend the next three days on questions of paramount importance to public broadcasting's search for diversity: How do people in our industry actually make their programming decisions, e.g., what subjects to treat, what scripts to buy, what format, what style, how to tailor specific content to specific audiences, how to heighten the chance that a show will succeed.

I know from my experience as a producer, broadcast manager, researcher and director of research that these decisions most often are based on the preferences, tastes and experiences of the decision makers involved. The results are often very good—and sometimes very, very bad. But such is the nature of human behavior and its consequences, and especially of intuitive, self-projective, nonsystematic decision making.

This is not to suggest that there is anything "wrong" with using intuition, relying on experience and being self-projective. I do mean to suggest, however, that there are some other approaches to program decision making that can help resolve some of the uncertainties endemic to our profession. I refer to approaches that focus on the application of knowledge about target audiences, their media consumption patterns, their preferences, tastes, demography, and so on. I refer also to the use of program performance data, i.e., measured audience responses to different kinds of programs. I refer to the use of research.

Before anyone rushes to the conclusion that the foregoing is simply a prelude to an inundation of Nielsen and Arbitron ratings data, let me assure you that such is not our intention. Ratings data alone—or even research alone—will not provide all of the answers needed by public broadcasters, especially answers needed about minority programming and minority audiences.

I repeat, we cannot rely on ratings data alone for one reason: Such data, collected according to the commercial broadcasting model, tend to be less useful in public broadcasting than we would desire; this is attributable in part to our comparatively smaller audiences. For minority audiences and programming concerns, syndicated ratings data based on small sample sizes are useful only for the grossest kinds of projections. Moreover, many of the answers we seek most likely are to be found in the research findings of behavioral scientists, cultural anthropologists, communication theorists and in the literature of related disciplines.

Reflecting again on the title of the symposium, a symposium on minority audiences and programming research, I thought it useful to acknowledge that the title reflects one of our key assumptions, about which there may be some disagreement: There is a relationship between programming and minority media usage, and if we expect to attract minority audiences to public broadcasting, we must give them certain kinds of programs.

Is there such a "giving and getting" relationship in people's response to media? I am prepared to say that there is. My view on the matter may be summarized as follows:

In all economic, social and political enterprises, there is a connection between giving and getting. In the nature of all varieties of human interaction there seems to be an immutable bond between giving and receiving, a necessary condition of reciprocity. This bond has special relevance to the task at hand. But in the context of public broadcasting, what do we mean by "giving and getting?"

"Getting" translates into attracting and building audiences; because we are focusing on minorities, we are therefore talking about building minority audiences for public broadcasting. We are talking about minority participation in fund raising, volunteerism and station development. We are talking about proportional representation of minorities in the composition of the audience for public radio and television.

"Giving" refers to public broadcasting's efforts to respond to the needs and preferences of minority-group Americans as we strive to fulfill the mandate to "achieve excellence through diversity"—a euphemism for the goal of serving all Americans in all their diversity.

While it is fairly easy to identify and enumerate the mandates of public broadcasting in programming and audience concerns, the identification of accompanying research tasks is much more elusive. This is precisely why this symposium is so important for researchers in public broadcasting. As the industry continues its search for concrete ways to fulfill the abstract mission of "achieving excellence through diversity . . . serving more fully both the mass audience and the many separate audiences that constitute, in their aggregate, our American society," researchers find themselves needing advice on how best to conduct useful and responsive research.

We hope that the recommendations from these deliberations will inspire and assist broadcasters and researchers throughout the system in facing the opportunities and challenges we share, especially the opportunities and challenges of serving fully both the mass audience and the many separate and diverse audiences that constitute, in their aggregate, our American society.

FOREWORD

Minorities in Public Broadcasting: Three Essential Concepts

José Rivera

As we commence this symposium, there are three concepts of critical relevance to our deliberations. No discussion of the proper role and practical potential of public broadcasting's attention to minority audiences can fail to be grounded in issues of freedom of speech, cultural diversity and public interest advocacy. In my opening remarks, I will define and extend the implications of these key concepts for minority audience research and programming in public radio and television.

Beginning with the first concept, freedom of speech, let me note that certain aspects of its popular conception encourage the public, the policy maker and the programmer alike to avoid any direct confrontation with its true meaning. On one hand, the concept of free speech is so embedded in American thought and lifestyle that we tend to take it for granted, to assume its continued protection and operation. On the other hand, the concept of free speech can appear so lofty, sacred and unapproachably pure that we avoid reference to it, so as not to sound pompous or dogmatic.

Nevertheless, freedom of speech is a concept that deserves constant attention, protection and exercise, if we are not to lose sight of its significance and if we are to prevent erosion of its power.

Speech must not be "more free" for some people than for others. Equal access to and expression of information useful in formulating opinions must be ensured for all social segments, and the range of our various publics' opinions must be fully aired.

In the realm of mass media of communication, the goal of preserving free speech within, and equal access to the "marketplace of ideas" is greatly complicated by economic and scientific forces that threaten our basic concept of free speech.

Earlier structures for mass media in this country were local, relatively inexpensive and diversified, both in terms of the kinds of people in control and in terms of the content offered to specialized and general publics. More recent concentration of control has limited the range of ideas circulated in the marketplace and has gathered larger audiences for these homogeneous perspectives. Additionally, newer mass media technologies limit public access because of the financial resources and technical skills required; therefore concentration of control is further narrowed.

These considerations about freedom of

speech become even more critical and pertinent to this symposium as we analyze the second concept I wish to highlight: cultural diversity in American society.

Our history of cultural diversity sits on a shaky foundation of ambivalence, with the actual and potential contributions of "hyphenated Americans" alternately praised and ignored. The recent civil rights movement and the growth of intracultural pride and awareness among ethnic and racial groups have credibly asserted that the perpetuation and protection of ethnic and racial subcultures is a right equal with and indivisibly related to freedom of speech and expression. What has not been clearly established, however, is the source of public ambivalence on the relationship between national strength and unity, and the encouragement of cultural diversity. Too many observers falsely pit diversity against unity, trapping themselves in self-defeating interpretations of the very paradox that empowered this nation's birth. Diversity is falsely feared as destructive of national strength, when indeed the marketplace of intellectual and spiritual resources it affords us is derived from an aggregation of self-acceptance and "other acceptance" within and across social segments. This truth is that most powerful paradox of unity through diversity.

Finally, the third major concept, public interest advocacy, relates the preceding concepts of free speech and cultural diversity and lays before us a philosophical roadmap of action that speaks directly to the institutional and moral responsibilities of public broadcasting in its efforts to serve minority audiences.

Given the society's latent ambivalence toward supporting cultural diversity and given the ability of mass media to offer low-risk, living-room access to subcultural diversities of opinion, experience and expression, public broadcasting is in a unique position to encourage the general society to expose itself to and appreciate the range of cognitive and social resources that characterize our minority subgroups. A public interest advocacy, based on the belief that an appreciation of the society's cultural diversity is in the best interests of majority and minority group members alike, will strive to represent accurately the broadest range of our societal subgroups and their cultural riches.

If we fail, minority groups will rapidly lose their small and hard-won advances. The larger society will be deprived of a unity and strength it never had the opportunity to know.

In summary, examining these three concepts that I hope you will bring to your deliberations, I assert that public broadcasting can become an essential element in American development by embracing the principles of free speech, by providing public presentations of cultural diversity and by advocating the increased availability of such presentations for the benefit of minority and majority group members alike.

Free of commercial considerations and mandated to promote cultural diversity, public broadcasting is in a unique position to assume these societal obligations. As you explore the research directions that the Office of Communication Research can pursue to help public broadcasting achieve these goals, it is my hope that you will remember freedom of speech, cultural diversity and public interest advocacy as philosophical cornerstones of public broadcasting's potential for serving minority audiences.

IN SEARCH OF DIVERSITY

SYMPOSIUM ON
MINORITY AUDIENCES
AND PROGRAMMING
RESEARCH

AN OVERVIEW OF THE SYMPOSIUM

All too many public broadcast program officials measure the appeal of a program by its ability—or lack of it—to capture the maximum audience possible. Oftentimes, program officials in public broadcasting who . . . are not minority group members, are prone to conclude that an audience does not want a particular kind of program without ascertaining whether or not it has a particular relevance to the needs and interests of the intended target audience. In effect, programs may be developed in a vacuum . . . This is particularly true with respect to minorities who, for the most part, have not been included in any measurable degree in audience measurement or in community ascertainment procedures of broadcast licensees.

—A Formula For Change:
A Report of the Task Force
on Minorities in Public Broadcasting *(p. 85)*

Introduction

Public broadcasting is unique among U.S. broadcasting institutions. It is free from direct commercial considerations and, by extension, can better determine the specific audiences it wishes to reach. Indeed, public broadcasting is mandated by Congress to provide alternative programming, i.e., programming not frequently offered by commercial broadcasting. Because racial and ethnic minorities historically have been excluded from programming considerations within commercial broadcasting, one of the specific mandates of public broadcasting is to provide programming for these groups.

Since its incorporation in 1968, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting has promoted a philosophy of commitment to minority broadcast consumers. The nature and intent of that commitment is summarized in *A Public Trust: The Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting* (p. 281):

> Public broadcasting is a major cultural institution that can play a decisive role in bringing together the pluralistic voices and interests of the American community. The creative resources and distribution facilities at the disposal of public broadcasters allow the system to develop program services that speak to the needs of specialized audiences, while channeling the concerns and talents of minorities and special interests into the mainstream of American thought.

Yet even with this philosophical devotion to cultural pluralism and the freedom from commercial constraints, public broadcasting has encountered difficulties in increasing the amount of quality programs for and about minorities. A study conducted by the Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting revealed considerable problems in minority audience research. The study found that many public broadcasters lack knowledge of basic audience research techniques and their applicability to minority audiences. Applying research to practical questions, like how to increase particular minority audiences, also was identified as a problem. Most importantly, many public broadcasters seemed to need basic directions for setting goals and measuring results intended to improve minority audience research and programming.

With these considerations, the Office of Communication Research of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting organized and conducted a Symposium on Minority Audiences and Programming Research.

The symposium, held October 14 through 17, 1980, in Lenox, Massachusetts, was conceived to rethink the objectives and problems of minority audience research and to restructure research applications to programming for minority audiences. To ensure the treatment of the full range of issues related to these problems, OCR invited participants representing a variety of backgrounds and interests in public broadcasting and minority affairs: station managers, academic researchers, public interest advocates and people involved in many phases of public telecommunications related to minority interests.

The three stated goals of the symposium were—

1. to document current knowledge of minority audiences and their relationship to public and commercial broadcasting;

2. to provide input for the design of a research agenda dealing with minority audience needs; and

3. to generate specific guidelines and/or decision-making tools for immediate and long-term use by public broadcasting personnel.

The five symposium session topics were related to one of the three goals in the following manner:

Goal 1:

"Existing Research on Minority Audiences and Programming: A Critical Analysis"

"Identifying Minority Audiences: Characteristics, Needs and Approaches to Services"

Goal 2:

"Models for Research on Minority Audiences: Innovations and Practical Applications"

"Relating Research to Programming: Approaches, Applications and Evaluation"

Goal 3:

"Guidelines and Tools for Industry Use of Research: Production and Distribution"

A series of papers was commissioned for the symposium. These papers expressed a mixture of philosophies and research approaches to the question of increasing minority audiences and developing programs sensitive to the needs, interests and concerns of minorities.

This overview summarizes the discussions that emerged from the symposium. While this overview cannot capture the energy, interaction and insight generated during each session, it does highlight salient issues and the range of viewpoints expressed. The overview further seeks to provide reactions to and limited analysis of material cited in the papers that follow.

SESSION ONE
Existing Research on Minority Audiences and Programming: A Critical Analysis

Two points dominated the first session:

- traditions of mass communication research, traditions of minority group research and current attitudes toward programming for minority audiences in public broadcasting; and
- the relationship of these traditions and attitudes to the role of public broadcasting in attempting to serve minority communities.

Discussion of the first point was generated by the presentation of a paper by Fife titled, "The Missing Minority in Mass Communication Research." The thesis of this paper was that historical and political factors significantly con-

tribute to inadequate conceptualization of the role of the audience in mass communication processes. Although new concepts of the audience and clearer models of mass communication have emerged, many communication researchers still apply earlier approaches to the concept of "audience." This inadequacy in audience research, while not specific to minority groups, is especially troublesome for minority audience research because of problems that exist in traditional research on minority group relations in the United States.

The author asserted that public broadcasters suffer from an inability to make use of existing, improved research techniques and an inability to determine their ultimate goals regarding minority audiences and how these audiences should be served. The author concluded that researchers can best aid public broadcasters by conducting research with clear applications to minority audiences, and by working with public broadcasters to ensure that decision makers understand the relevance of such research to actual programming decisions. Such efforts on the part of researchers hopefully can encourage public broadcasters to define their minority programming objectives and apply related research findings in striving to achieve them.

In discussing the relationship between traditional research on minorities and mass communication activities, many symposium participants focused on the ability of an institution such as public broadcasting to affect that relationship. There was general agreement that previous research approaches were not sensitive to cultural diversity in the United States, to the needs of minority audiences or to the range of behavioral meanings across cultural groups.

Among the diverse points of view represented by the participants was the legitimacy of attempted "pro-social" manipulation of audiences. At least four points of view were represented:

- Public broadcasting should reflect and reinforce minority group concerns with the same sense of commitment it has brought to nonminority group concerns. Since public broadcasting is supported by funds from the entire U.S. population (including minority Americans), it has an obligation to reflect the viewpoints and interests of both minorities and others.
- It may be the duty of public broadcasting to bring minorities into the mainstream culture by helping them to cope better with the dominant society.
- In a complementary sense, it may be the duty of public broadcasting to bring mainstream Americans to an appreciation of the strength of cultural diversity by helping them to cope better with an increasingly pluralistic society. There are some traits, experiences and perspectives in minority cultures from which nonminorities could greatly benefit.
- Social problems stemming from inadequate interpersonal contact among diverse cultural segments of the society represent a loss of cultural enrichment and effective social functioning for minorities and nonminorities alike. Public broadcasting's attention to these problems should address the interrelated welfare of minority and general audience viewers.

Another issue that emerged was the problem of defining the terms "audience needs," "audience interest" and "audience service." Several participants felt that many of the mandates of public broadcasting were tied to these terms, which had not been operationally defined for research purposes. Indeed, some participants felt that until key concepts concerning audience relationships to the mass media were adequately defined, mass communication researchers would continue to avoid an audience perspective in their studies.

Some participants believed that without adequate explication of the term "audience service," it was impossible to develop or test any theories on "alternative service," in spite of the fact that the provision of "alternative service" is a goal of public broadcasting. There were, however, two responses to this problem from academic and telecommunications industry participants:

■ Although for research purposes public broadcasters were unable to use some audience-related concepts within the framework of industry policy and operations, these concepts were adequately defined, generally understood and agreed upon within the industry. Given this fact, researchers outside of institutional frameworks should be able to design specific projects that make these concepts useful to broadcasters.

■ Theoretical constructs such as "needs" and "satisfaction" traditionally have plagued social scientists and represent methodological problems that go beyond the scope of the symposium. This problem, however, should not alter the desire or ability of researchers to continue theory building through empirical research.

Concern was expressed that the field of mass communication research is characterized generally by many inexplicit concepts and by sterile and inadequate models. For example, the concept of "audience" in mass communication research, said participants, is unclear and should be rethought. Participants also felt that mass communication research did not place enough emphasis on the relationship between broadcasters and their audiences. Several participants felt that this deserved more attention by communication researchers and needed further exploration using social science models from fields such as sociology, economics and anthropology.

Another unexplored area was the adaptation of media research to suggest methods for altering the present attitudes and practices of broadcast providers toward their audiences. It was agreed generally that research using content analysis was particularly troublesome and frequently weak in applied efforts to change the relationship between the broadcaster/provider and the audience/consumer.

A related question that surfaced in exploring the concept of audience needs was the ability of an institution such as public broadcasting to meet needs of special groups. Participants pointed out that the audience is also a "public," a series of communities who engage in far more communication activities than mass media. If one considers both the "broadcast needs" and "nonbroadcast needs" of the public, promotion of cultural diversity or transmission of unique ethnic and racial group values may be "nonbroadcast needs," not appropriate for mass communication services. In other words, perhaps small groups do not "belong" in mass media as a focus for service and programming. An argument put forth for small groups not belonging was the Canadian example where attempts to create and legitimize a truly bicultural nation were failing because of the tremendous burden of effecting such extensive national change. Some observers concluded that Canadian mass media institutions simply were incapable of serving the special cultural needs of their audiences.

A number of participants believed that the minority population in the United States was not large enough to warrant special target programming. Others noted that new technologies were continually changing broadcasters' concepts of whether or not the subjectively "small" minority group numbers justified specialized target programming.

Unfortunately, many traditional research tools such as ratings systems have not kept pace with the informational de-

mands generated by the new technology in measuring size and reactions of minority audiences. One supporting example was a special research study of two Hispanic-targeted series on public television in Boston (WGBH). By redesigning the sample and analyzing audience numbers in relation to the available target population instead of the general audience, the service objectives undertaken by those series were found to be met more successfully than previously thought possible.

Questions about the motivations of public broadcasters also surfaced. Some participants felt that public broadcasters shared the same motivations as commercial broadcasters: to increase ratings. This was seen as the source of continuing neglect of minority audience research and programming. According to this view, because racial and ethnic minorities are not traditional users or financial supporters of public telecommunications, their interests would be a low priority. Accordingly, researchers (both academic and institutional) traditionally have not considered how to improve measurement of minority audiences, how to assess minority audience needs or how to identify minority program preferences as important areas of research.

Other participants expressed the opinion that public broadcasting's interest in serving minority groups was the result of the industry's need to penetrate new markets, and hence, public broadcasters were not genuinely interested in promoting new research approaches for goals beyond increasing minority audience numbers. Thus, concluded this group, the motivations of public broadcasting as an institution were still inherently "anti-audience needs and services." Another point of view was that some public broadcasters quite seriously wish to improve service to special audiences but lack the necessary research models and tools.

The consensus in this discussion was that the decentralized system of public broadcasting contains a wide range of motivations, including the need to increase minority audiences. The group concluded that the design of any research agenda must accommodate the range of motivations existing among public broadcasters.

SESSION TWO
Identifying Minority Audiences: Characteristics, Needs and Approaches to Services

Session Two was devoted to a review of existing research on minority audiences and to background information on selected statistical trends (demographic, migration patterns and socio-economic data) in these groups. Three papers were presented treating three racial/ethnic groups as broadcast audiences: Afro-Americans, Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans. Another presentation on Native Americans completed the session.

Allen's paper, "Communication Research on Black Americans," examined evidence on the role of television in the lives of blacks and suggested how to improve the quality of research in four areas: portrayals (or images of blacks in the media, particularly television), exposure patterns, attitudes and motives, and effects.

Regarding portrayals, Allen concluded that current studies should be continued, but with more attention to audience perceptions and interpretations of television programs (viewer-based content analysis) as they relate to both individual and group black cultural experience. According to Allen, although researchers agree that viewing patterns differ among blacks and whites, there is no evidence that blacks and whites within the same socio-economic group have similar or dissimilar viewing habits. Documentation of television usage patterns and related attitudes have, however, generally supported the notion that blacks have a substantially different orientation toward television than do whites. Blacks view television more favorably than whites do and they have different program preferences.

In conclusion, Allen identified several conceptual and methodological shortcomings of early communication research. These included lack of sensitivity to the cultural experience of blacks; little attention to reliability and validity of data in the research design and evaluation process; too many impressionistic and descriptive studies; and lack of theoretical development.

Another presentation in this session was a paper by Hur, "Asian-American Audience Research and Public Broadcasting Programming." The primary purpose of this paper was to identify media habits, communication channels and media behavior patterns among Asian Americans. Hur noted that in spite of growing interest in minority audience research and growth in the Asian-American population due to immigration, very little research has been conducted on Asian Americans as a mass media audience.

With this preface, Hur examined three areas of audience research on Asian Americans: the population growth and demographic characteristics of Asian Americans; Asian-American media habits and other related variables; and a research model with which to elicit and document media habits among Asian-American communities.

Hur also reviewed the relatively limited data available on Asian-American audiences, their media usage, media preferences, content preferences and media exposure. Discussing the use of ethnic language in mass media, he noted that Asian Americans who want to develop their English language skills would be more inclined to do so through public television (versus commercial) because they view public television as an educational vehicle.

Valenzuela's paper, "Latinos and Public Broadcasting: Developing a Research Agenda," reviewed the literature about Latino audiences and the English/Spanish-language programming available to Latinos. Valenzuela asserted that English-language media have historically stereotyped the Hispanic heritage and have a poor record on the employment of Hispanics. He said that Spanish-language broadcasting in the United States, though a growing industry, offers few opportunities for the employment of Hispanic Americans because of its heavy reliance on Mexican and South American programs and staff.

Although public broadcasting has made significant attempts to broadcast to Latino audiences, Valenzuela felt that programming efforts were neither frequent nor consistent. Furthermore, few public broadcasting entities have decided to choose between high audience ratings or policy commitments to minority audiences. The result, said Valenzuela, was limited support for multi-ethnic/multi-racial programming and even less commitment to meeting the needs of any one minority group, particularly Latinos.

Valenzuela examined new data on Latino media usage patterns and their

implications in efforts to reach Latino audiences. The old assumption that after television, radio was the preferred medium among Latinos was being challenged by a number of studies indicating that print media use among Latinos was higher than previously believed.

The final presentation of the second session by Blythe treated broadcasting issues in American-Indian communities. Blythe felt that three prominent characteristics were common among Native-American audiences:

- They are probably the most diverse ethnic group in the country, representing about 280 tribes and scattered throughout the United States from Alaska to Florida.
- They are probably the most unidimensionally stereotyped ethnic group, constantly portrayed as "19th century noble savages" with virtually no history outside of that stereotype.
- There is very little research on Native Americans as mass communication audiences.

Regarding the intragroup diversity of Native Americans, Blythe asserted that public television tends to seek general audience programming to deal with minority target groups, but the heterogeneous nature of American Indians makes this impossible. It is not feasible to try to come up with one or two definitions of a Native-American community, given their diversity.

Nevertheless, Blythe felt that there are some connections among these groups that can be addressed through public broadcasting. For example, public radio might serve as a communication link between specific tribes and contribute to an internal sense of American-Indian identity. Many Native Americans, he believed, would like to use public telecommunications to preserve and teach their languages and heritage to the American public. Blythe believed these concerns were common to most Native-American populations.

The paper concluded that stereotyping of Native Americans exists in both public and commercial broadcasting. With its special mandates, however, public broadcasting should play a leadership role in portraying more accurately the diverse nature of Native-American communities.

Discussion of these presentations focused on the issue of minority communities as monolithic entities. Some participants believed "the myth of the monolithic minority group" was a useful tool for political progress but was dysfunctional in getting researchers to deal with issues affecting minority audiences. For example, broadcast programmers and policy makers often were said to accept one or two studies with limited generalizability as definitive.

When coupled with existing stereotypes of racial or ethnic groups, the monolithic perspective perpetuates narrow visions of these communities. The inadequate programming attention to minority experiences results in a situation similar to that found in general programming for commercial broadcasting—programming for the "lowest common denominator." In the case of minority target programming, a "lowest common denominator" approach tends to ignore the diversity that exists within and between various cultural groups.

Participants agreed that while racial and ethnic minority group members share some common experiences and perceptions, minority audience research should not ignore differences within groups. In this respect, much can be learned from other social sciences that investigate minority group experiences.

The monolithic perspective on minorities encourages simplistic reliance on a handful of major, often national studies and a tendency to ignore local community research. This is most unfortunate in

public broadcasting since stations have a special responsibility to meet local community programming needs.

Accordingly, participants recommended that researchers work with broadcasters to encourage better use of minority audience research such as ascertainment studies. Researchers also should work with broadcasters by interpreting national, regional or market research in other markets for its applied value in their local community.

Additionally, researchers should provide models for building more direct interaction between public broadcasters and minority community members who are potential audience members.

Symposium participants generally agreed that emphasis on localism in research would improve service to all audiences, but especially to minority group audiences.

Perhaps most importantly, research based on racial groups as monolithic entities does not begin to deal with the larger, more important issue of cultural diversity. Although social science research, for the sake of economy, has used race as a simple variable, mass communication researchers must begin to deal with the complex cultural differences that underlie racial differences. Without investigating these cultural elements, researchers cannot understand why and when social strata, education, age, sex and other variables interact with race and ethnicity in determining media habits.

For example, researchers with a monolithic approach are not likely to understand interdependence in media usage within and across subcultures of minority groups. They may discover, but not investigate, Vietnamese immigrant use of Korean television programming, or significant differences in Afro-American versus West Indian blacks' media habits within the same neighborhood. Yet it is precisely such patterns of similarities or dissimilarities that broadcasters need to understand before they can develop programs targeted to local minority audience needs in their respective communities.

Another area of concern during the second session was the examination of specific program and station formats and their relative attractiveness to various elements within minority communities. Such research would study minority audience preferences for particular programming formats and the qualities of programming that would draw target audiences to a particular broadcast station.

Finally, the discussion ended with consideration of the unique potential of public broadcasting to discover and serve minority group needs. Participants compared the broadcast spectrum and the social spectrum. Although new technologies are said to end the spectrum shortage by providing an abundant diversity of mass communication content, those emerging technologies might not cover the social spectrum. The diversity of subcultures existing within the greater American culture has traditionally been staggering. The responsibility of public broadcasting to comprehensively portray such diversity is a philosophical cornerstone of the industry's commitment to minority audience service.

SESSION THREE
Models for Research on Minority Audiences: Innovations and Practical Applications

Symposium participants discussed methodological approaches to audience research that could be applied to improve minority audience research.

Signorielli delivered a paper entitled "Content Analysis: More Than Just Counting Minorities." The paper reviewed content analyses of minority representation in the world of television and presented a theoretical framework for future research of that type. The author's review of existing content analyses demonstrated that minority groups are frequently underrepresented or stereotypically portrayed on television programs. The analytical framework presented in the paper centered upon four basic elements essential to the design of various phases of content analytic research: attention, emphasis, tendency and structure.

The paper also treated other important aspects of content analysis design such as unitization, sampling, the recording instrument, coder training, recording forms, statistical techniques, reliability and validity.

Finally, Signorielli noted that content analysis is only the first step in fully examining a phenomenon like television programming. Research is still needed to provide information about the institutional processes that produce and/or sustain the message system and to examine the contribution of media portrayals to popular conceptions of social reality.

Eiselein presented a paper, "Anthropological Approaches to Research on Minority Audiences." The paper discussed the primary goal of applied anthropology and its relevance to minority audiences. Throughout the paper, Eiselein illustrated several research models used in an anthropological approach to mass communication research.

Eiselein distinguished between applied anthropological approaches and other social science approaches in mass communication research by citing the former's greater emphasis on change. Change is the primary business of applied anthropologists; research is a tool used in projects designed to cause social, economic, cultural and psychological change.

Using this approach, Eiselein talked about the role of community in the various models he presented. The model elements were "the community" (as opposed to "the audience") and the public broadcasting organization, which should realize that distinction. In Eiselein's anthropological model, the broadcast station was specifically defined as a system of production and distribution. To move that system to produce and broadcast programs relevant to minority audiences, the researcher must understand the decision-making processes and the social structure within the system.

Eiselein's paper reviewed several research methods compatible with his conceptual models and useful in generating formative and summative information useful to programming decision makers.

In his conclusion, Eiselein detailed unique aspects of an applied anthropological approach. These included an emphasis on integration of the minority

community, the station and the medium; the generation of culturally relevant data that emphasize the community perspective; and the importance of developmental research in providing a foundation for production and further research.

Presentation of the Signorielli paper produced an extensive discussion of the assets and liabilities of the method. Many participants believed content analysis could document the nature of mass communication images but argued that documentation was not the crucial issue. Content analysis was a good basis for criticism, and good criticism was seen as playing an important role on a basic level. Related concerns were that audience perceptions of media content may not parallel content analysis findings and whether or not the methodology might document better any changes in projected media images. Some participants more skeptically questioned whether or not content analysis is the appropriate method for studying these questions. One viewpoint insisted that it was, with proper instrument design. Another suggested that to a limited extent, it could serve as important preliminary research leading to more elaborate research employing another method.

In spite of this diversity of opinion, there was agreement that the method provided one way to examine a small aspect of a very large problem. Programming changes based on content analysis findings had to spring from the broadcasting institution, program producers and the audience itself. Such generation of change was far beyond the abilities of researchers using content analysis.

The limitations of the researcher using particular methodologies or models were discussed when the symposium participants turned to the subject of researchers' playing advocacy roles inside or outside of broadcast institutions. There was agreement that research often was a tool of advocacy, but as such, was embraced to varying degrees across mass communication institutions. Some participants noted that the anthropological approach particularly emphasized advocacy, while others believed that the advocacy is performed by the community, not the researcher. In defining and following an advocacy role, the researcher's responsibility is to go to the community/audience to generate research methods and to promote dialogue between the institution and the community.

The question of research's leading, as opposed to following, policy in public broadcasting led participants to agree that much work is needed to develop ascertainment methodologies in general, and especially in relation to advocacy roles for research. It was agreed that model building in ascertainment research was an area worthy of exploration.

The discussion of ascertainment led to a discussion of the general need for feedback to evaluate research models and methods. Many participants saw the lack of feedback as a barrier to legitimizing research in broadcasting. Because industry decision makers frequently see no connection between research findings and changes in audience behavior, they do not see the value of conducting research. Many participants believed lack of feedback between the audience and the broadcasters was the real problem for minority programming efforts.

Participants agreed that more work was needed to translate research results and applications into feedback understandable to both audiences and broadcasters.

SESSION FOUR
Relating Research to Programming: Approaches, Applications and Evaluation

Two papers were presented on specific applications of research methods to the development of programming to attract minority audiences. The first paper dealt with the concept of "audience production function" and the second paper with qualitative ratings.

The audience production function (APF) was defined in Gandy's paper, "Toward the Production of Minority Audience Characteristics," as a research approach that conceives of audience characteristics as the output or product of an industrial process that may be described in the form of a linear equation. Such an equation describes the maximum output of desired audience characteristics that would be produced with the optimal combination of inputs, described as program attributes. Gandy believed the APF approach, proposed for public telecommunications programmers, represented a significant advance over traditional models, which limit audience options to choices from defined content categories. He proposed some specific mechanisms that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting could use to apply the APF approach to program development and to measure institutional effectiveness.

Hardy's paper, "Qualitative Research and Its Relevance to Minority Audience and Programming Concerns," defined the qualitative rating approach and compared it to the more established rating systems. The paper explained how the characteristics of qualitative research can be applied for the benefit of minority audiences and produce better minority-relevant programming. Hardy gives specific answers to such questions as how qualitative research is used in broadcasting today and how it can be used in the future to make programming decisions. He also talked about future directions in qualitative research and the probability that it will be applied fruitfully to minority-targeted programming.

The discussion turned immediately to the influence of rating systems on the content and scope of research questions. The focus of the debate was whether or not traditional audience ratings, such as Nielsen and Arbitron, would be adapted to provide information needed for improved minority audience programming. One point of view was that both public and commercial broadcasters had worked with nonminority audience ratings data successfully in the past. That data seemed to give them the information they needed. Couldn't such "traditional" rating systems simply be corrected for minority audience representation, so that such ratings data would be as reliable for them as for majority audiences? Is it really necessary to build entirely new methods and technologies for ratings for racial and ethnic minorities?

One response was that public broadcasters should not be in the "general audience" business, because their mandate is to diversify their audience by serving many different kinds of special interests. Additionally, public broadcasters should not be in the business of collecting and building audiences on the basis of "demographic polls" with features determined by advertisers' needs. Participants wondered whether or not the

correction of sampling procedures for minority audiences in "traditional" rating systems are capable of yielding data needed for accountability in public broadcasting.

Some participants felt that absolute numbers were and should continue to be an important indicator of service and, indeed, had many implications for accountability. In that sense, correcting sampling problems in syndicated data to provide better representation of target audiences would increase the value of those data. Other participants agreed that numbers had some role in accountability but a far more limited one than currently was seen. Traditional audience measurement, even with corrected samples, could not reveal the variance within target audiences that is needed to achieve true accountability. The dominant view among participants was that combining a variety of qualitative and quantitative rating systems would be the best solution, especially if qualitative measures were tailored to reflect the stated goals and objectives of public broadcasting.

The discussion moved into rating systems attuned to individual station goals as well as to traditional audience measurement. Participants agreed that a combined approach could collect data useful nationally for accountability and locally for programming, scheduling, promotion and policy setting.

Participants next focused on the relationship between established objectives in public broadcasting and the input-output equation in the Gandy audience production function model. Again, participants expressed the view that the objectives of public broadcasting demand a different kind of measurement from simple head counts. Additionally, the lack of an economic imperative, as in commercial broadcasting, has resulted in very different information needs for determining success in meeting public broadcasting's objectives. Many participants saw the APF concept as an economic commodities process and, therefore, one which must be related to the special goals of public broadcasting.

One participant suggested that Gandy's economic commodities analogy be continued to include the "profits from the successful production system." If the "product" was an overall audience for public broadcasting and reflected the racial and ethnic diversity of the public available to the broadcaster, then the "profits" might be the rewards perceived by the production system. The problem then would be to define those rewards and relate them to the production process. These rewards could be anything from higher contributions from minority audience members to more political support from communities of color when a station seeks government funds. The issue would be to frame the model in such a way that the output of the system is seen by the system as a "profit-generating" activity.

Moving from discussion of the two papers to the more general subject of applying research to program development and evaluation, the symposium examined the relationship between goals and criteria. An example was offered from the field of medical policy making. If the medical community changed its goals from increasing human longevity to improving the quality of later life, it also must change its criteria for determining how well that goal is met. It would not suffice to set a higher median age for older Americans; rather the new criteria must be more complex than age averages. Perhaps the criteria would measure the number of older Americans occupied in some form of productive full- or part-time work.

Similarly, researchers in communication must revise their criteria for success in target audience programming. Researchers must bring some new measurement criteria to these problems, criteria

rooted in programming terms. Researchers must begin to gather data on complex sets of performance criteria. For example, if the goal is improved service to Native Americans, new programming goals might be an increase of *x* percent in Native Americans portrayed in public TV programs or the establishment of no less than *y* radio stations formatted to reach particular tribes.

Discussion of goals and criteria was linked to the role of new technology in restructuring programming goals. Some participants believed that advances in technology would make possible more stations with targeted formats for minority communities, even in the now expensive medium of TV. However, other participants believed that even with new technologies, targeted formats would have low-quality production values, making them unacceptable and noncompetitive with general audience material.

The role of new technology was discussed further in terms of its impact on industrywide commitments to minority audience programming. Several participants suggested that the belief that new technology would solve the problem of "scarcity of the broadcast spectrum" could be used to justify changing the goals of public broadcasting's programming for minorities. Would the new telecommunications technologies actually provide alternative program services for ethnic and racial minorities superior to those of the existing public broadcasting system? Would fundamental changes in public broadcasting itself produce a system more or less capable of producing programs to meet minority group needs?

The Office of Communication Research commissioned a paper on this subject to examine new telecommunications technologies and their relationship to programming for racial and ethnic minorities. "Emerging Telecommunications Technologies, Public Telecommunications and People of Color," by Bowie, raised critical considerations about the impact of new and emerging technologies on people of color and the poor. Bowie offered three principal propositions:

- The primary benefits of new and emerging telecommunications technologies will widen the information gap between the rich and the poor.
- New and emerging broadcast technologies are not likely to result in more diversified viewpoints, better programs or greater access.
- Minority audiences will not likely be a major consideration as new technologies emerge and will have little say in the creation of new and emerging technologies or subsequent programming needs because they lack the economic and political power to control technology.

Bowie offered a tentative research agenda that focuses on questions that public broadcasting should consider and investigate.

The fifth, and final, session reviewed the previous discussions to draft a recommended research agenda responsive to the complex issues of minority audiences and programming in public broadcasting. A complete presentation of this research agenda is contained in the final section of this report.

Developing Philosophies of Audience Research

The following paper is a critical analysis of audience research conducted by mass communication researchers and used by the broadcast industry. The author emphasizes the special failings of audience research in dealing with ethnic and racial minority groups in the United States and the unique problems of public broadcasters in finding and using research on those audiences.

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The Missing Minority in Mass Communication Research

Marilyn Diane Fife

One of the interesting developments from the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s was the change in acceptable racial nomenclature from "Negro" to "black." The debate, controversy and resistance created by this change in terminology were remarkable if one considered that it had no impact on jobs, education, housing or any other real social need. But the change as a symbolic act was well recognized. A minority subculture was telling the majority culture that the subculture would now, and henceforth, define itself. By taking the definition into its own hands, the minority group had seized power over its own presentation, a gesture that allowed it not only to define itself at will, but also to interject that presentation into situations at will.

The increased recognition of minority group interest in the mass media and efforts to exert more control over broadcast programming by, for and about minority groups represent another move toward self-definition. Long before the Kerner Commission (23), various minority groups were concerned about their relationship with the mass media and the control the mass media had over their relationship with majority Americans. This control often took the form of absence: Minority groups did not exist in mass communication interpretations of contemporary life. Thus, Native Americans existed only as 19th-century myths—a historical or ethnographic piece of America's past that had nothing to do with today (19). Black Americans simply did not exist outside of their highly stereotyped occupations as shoeshine boys, maids or tap dancers. Asian Americans also were locked into other places and other times; they were portrayed as pigtailed workers on railroads or as crazed, suicidal, warring Japanese, obsessed with bombing Americans. Hispanics were hardly expected to be shown with other Americans in the media since their lives were spent in perpetual "mañana-land" and it was always "siesta time." Of course, these were simply stereotypes, not invented by the mass communication industry, yet embraced and unquestioned by its institutions. Additionally, most minority roles, with the exception of blacks, were usually portrayed by white actors (38). Minority groups thus were locked out of their mass media definitions.

At a time when interest in the role of mass communication was growing and the field of mass communication research was developing, virtually no work was

done on minority groups as audiences. Minority concerns were simply missing from the framework of communication research. When minority groups did wander into the researcher's framework, it was not from the point of view of minorities as audience members, but as "objects" presented for better understanding by majority group audiences. Examples of such "object" approaches are the Cooper and Jahoda (9) study on "Mr. Biggott," which examined how majority prejudices could escape ridicule through selective perception, or the Berelson and Salter (1) study on the image of minorities presented in magazine fiction, which Wright (42) refers to as "an example of the kinds of questions to which content analyses are often addressed."

It would be unfair to say that only the minority group audience was missing in mass communication research. Early work in the field was shaped by research theories about audiences and their role in mass communication that resulted in a lack of audience viewpoint generally. As we shall see in the discussion below, the field of communication research eventually modified its concepts about the audience and began to produce studies dealing more with the audience as part of the communication process. But it was not until the Kerner Commission and minority pressure on the mass media industry that communication researchers began to deal with minority audience needs.

The Development of the Field of Mass Communication Research

Social science research is relatively new when compared with the systematic development of knowledge in the physical sciences. Research on mass communication is still more neoteric. Pember (28) characterizes media research as barely out of the adolescent stage, and Schramm (33) points out that more than one-half of all research on human communication has been undertaken since 1952. Because of this short history, it is possible to understand how and why mass communication research has developed in the United States, and what it has and has not contributed to both minority and general audiences.

The study of communication is a field that crystallized from work by researchers from other social sciences, most notably social psychology and psychology. The field of communication created the subfield of mass media or mass communication research (34, 27). Because communication became a separate field of interest only in the last 40 years, it developed an interdisciplinary nature and some very specific frameworks around its research.

The reason that many social scientists became interested in and began to formulate research questions about mass communication was the apparent influence that new media seemed to have on public behavior. With the creation and popularity of such mass media as movies, recordings and relatively inexpensive newspapers and books at the turn of the century, a new social force was born. Naturally, social scientists were interested in understanding new social forces, especially a force perceived as powerful. The major impetus to the study of mass media was the concern with its ubiquitousness and its assumed power, which became more urgent when social scientists realized its applicability to war efforts (24).

The distinction between propaganda and public opinion and the relationship of mass communication to that distinction first surfaced around World War I.

> Encouraging the free expression of controversial opinions in order to insure the public's right to know, the First Amendment was based upon a specific notion of

> "public" and "public discourse." It presupposed an educated elite interacting with one another and assessing together, through rational discourse, the value of conflicting opinion about truth. The lack of face-to-face connections between the media and their users fractured that understanding of public and public discourse. Indeed, by the early 20th century, the idea of public discourse was replaced by the notion of public opinion. (37)

Many social scientists and social critics of the early 20th century regarded mass media as a powerful vehicle for carrying faceless propaganda to an easily influenced public whose opinions lacked the strength of public discourse. This view of mass communication was reinforced by three factors: the theory of mass society that dominated sociological thinking at the time; the theory of stimulus-response that dominated psychological thinking at the time; and the use of mass communication during World War I.

The application of the paradigm of mass society to mass communication research was seen as early as the 1920s and was an influence still when the field of mass communication research crystallized in the late 1930s. It was the main theoretical basis for concern with the ubiquitousness and power of the mass media. DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (12) state that "in their theoretical thinking about the impact of the mass media of communication, scholars, critics and enthusiasts have all been influenced in greater or lesser degree by the conceptions of the fundamental nature of human beings and of society that have been current in their time."

The concept of mass society was first raised by Alexis de Tocqueville in the 1830s. He defined it sociologically as lacking strong, independent social groups and institutions; a society dominated from above; resigned, passive and prey to irrational political movements. In such a society, the manufacture of opinion by a centralized mass medium could affirm and support the tendencies of resignation, passiveness and irrationality (35). In a mass society, individuals are presumed to be in a situation of psychological isolation and to be relatively free from the demands of binding social obligations (12).

The concept of stimulus-response (S-R) is the basis of the "bullet" and the "hypodermic needle" theories of mass communication. These theories are based on stimulus leading to response as a direct, observable, action-and-reaction sequence. The physical analog for both is that of a powerful impact and a direct flow. As mass communication theories, both suggest information flowing directly from the mass media to the audience, and both imply the audience is successfully reached and persuaded. This model of mass communication effects came from the period of instinct psychology, which was at its peak at the time of World War I. Such a theory was consistent with general theory in both psychology and sociology up to that time, before concepts of intervening variables were introduced (12).

World War I was the first social upheaval during which mass media played an important role in manipulating society's response to events. The use of mass communication during the war was the applied basis of the concern over the ubiquitousness and power of the mass media. The newly established mass media were used to mobilize sentiments and loyalty around the war effort, with extremely successful results. Such large-scale persuasion of entire populations by the use of mass media had never been seen before, and it was conducted in a skillful and highly coordinated manner (12). After World War I, the professionals of the upper-middle class lost faith in public opinion as the expression of "reason"

and rational discourse (37). Educated elites, such as social scientists and media professionals, felt the use of the media during the war proved public opinion too fragile to stand up to mediated propaganda.

But in this atmosphere, interest in communication research continued to grow, even if confined by the paradigms dominating social science. When World War II was on the horizon, social scientists were drawn to communication research for the new war effort. By that time, an organized field of research had come into existence. It still bore the influence of S-R theory and the mass society model, even though the problems of those approaches were beginning to surface and would soon face heavy criticism. More importantly, the field still tended to examine audiences as if they were isolated from everything other than media influences. Believing in the value of pro-social manipulation, researchers worked towards getting the audience to respond more predictably to mass communications, instead of designing the communication to serve audience needs better.

As more research was conducted, evidence mounted for changing the concept of the audience in mass communication. It became clear that while "mass man" and "mass society" with their characteristics of isolation and high manipulation were interesting notions, they never stood up as theory to empirical testing. Instead, through the systematic replacement and modification of such concepts, the field developed better theory (12).

With the growth of new frameworks for audience investigations, more complex and complete models evolved, and more research derived from the audience perspective. Useful criticism of the older models was presented. One of the first such criticisms was done by Freidson (15) who stated:

> Assuming the audience to be a mass, the implicit reasoning of such research is as follows. Since the mass do not behave according to the conventions, expectations and values of their local group, and do not interact with each other, it follows that the two really important variables in mass communication are individual traits of the members of the audience, and the content itself . . . There is only interaction between content and personal interest. . . .

Friedson went on to criticize that reasoning for its inability to deal with the local aspects of the audience, the social character of audience members, the institutional character of media activities, and the fact that a local audience itself was a social group composed of individuals who have absorbed mass communication into their relatively settled ways of behaving.

Another criticism of the original approach to audience research was its inability to deal with the notion of selectivity on the part of the audience. If the audience were truly passive, one would not expect any screening processes to take place. But even the earliest mass communication studies had to deal with selective exposure, perception and retention to understand why audiences varied in their response to broadcast material. This failure in the mass society model of the audience had been seen especially in attempts to reform attitudes around social issues, as in the Cooper and Jahoda (9) work on social bigotry. Here a cartoon character was designed to ridicule prejudice but was often interpreted by readers as justified in displaying bigotry. More recently, we have seen studies on audience interpretation of bigotry based on the Archie Bunker character from *All in the Family* (40, 25), but these studies differ in orientation from the "Mr. Biggott" material of Cooper and Jahoda; they were undertaken to analyze the

selective perceptual process of the audience, not to produce attitudinal change.

The uses and gratifications model put forth in the early 1940s also was a critical alternative to early audience concepts. The researchers using that model were striving to assess media consumption in audience-related terms. A major element of the uses and gratification approach is conceiving of the audience as active and making choices about media based on their needs. Additionally, audience researchers under this model believe in suspending value judgments about the cultural significance of mass communication while exploring audience orientation on its own terms (20). Such a research framework would not have been possible in the mass society or stimulus-response frameworks.

Gans (16) has pointed out that early notions about the audience have resulted in mass communication research being too "media-centered." Gans describes media centering as "the tendency of media researchers, like researchers and practitioners in all fields, to assign their subject central importance . . . As a result, society too often seems to revolve around the media in our research, and audience studies treat people as if being an audience was their central role in life."

Despite changes and refinements in the notion of the audience and the way audience research is framed, many residual effects of the older research orientations still influence audience research. Generally, researchers should pay more attention to audience needs rather than their manipulation.

Gans (17), in speaking about one particular medium, states:

> Many individual researchers are not aware of the values that underlie their curiosity, particularly those who use television mainly as a research site to explore theoretical issues of their behavioral science disciplines. But other individuals and most, if not all, granting agencies are concerned with television and either want to serve or affect the audience. But even researchers who use television only as a site for basic research may produce studies that have implications for the audience.

As research in mass communication moved toward more concern for the audience, and as the needs and demands of the audience began to help shape research, there still were issues related to *minority groups* as audiences to be addressed.

Characteristics of Research on Minority Group Relations in the United States

The attitudes and approaches of social science researchers toward minority groups have some interesting parallels to those of mass communication researchers toward audiences. Just as the dominant paradigms of mass communication researchers came from the 19th century, minority group researchers also have dealt with concepts of racial ideology and concerns of innate racial traits based in the biological thinking of the 19th century. Williams (41) states, "It is difficult for us today to appreciate how unquestioned were the assumptions of racial ideology of white Americans only 50 years ago." The paradigm that paralleled "mass society" was "minority group as a problem." The assumption that minorities were "the problem" allowed well-meaning whites never to mount a serious attack on white racism, although convincing evidence of racism could easily be found in most influential sections of mainstream American society (29, 6). The accepted research approach was what Ryan (31) has labeled "blaming the victim": the practice of analyzing individual or group traits as opposed to in-

stitutional or societal forces in attempting to explain existing situations.

Like mass communication models built around powerful effects and passive audiences, race relations models built around blaming the victim and minorities as problems did not claim the explanatory power expected. Both fields experienced change in their underlying assumptions, but for different reasons.

As presented above, the field of mass communication was still developing and was bound to change simply because the quality and quantity of its investigations were changing. Additionally, as Carey (5) points out, the increase in the penetration and impact of the mass media on society led researchers to reassess the powerful effects model. There were more data, over social periods of both upheaval and normalcy, about the role of mass communication in society.

Researchers began to see a range of effects as media use became more routine and commonplace after 1950. The powerful effects models made sense in examining propagandistic information campaigns carried by the media during the world wars and the radical social movements of the 1930s. But as broadcast media became associated with daily entertainment and information and as a background element of lifestyle, limited effects models made more sense.

In minority relations, the field was more established and less likely to change through its own redefinition. But political and social movements did affect the models used by its researchers. World War II produced changes in attitudes on and by minorities, leading to coalitions of minorities and nonminorities in support of social justice (10). The Civil Rights Movement spawned more ethnic consciousness among minorities in the United States and combined with economic factors, led to more effective political manipulation by minority groups. Institutional racism became more generally recognized and documented as contributing to minority status.

Interestingly, the mass media were believed to contribute to the new consciousness of minority groups. Hayakawa (18) saw the media as raising awareness of social inequality through their representation of "typical" American lifestyles. Davison (11) pointed out that both specialized and general media channels often served as vehicles for promoting such unifying factors as a sense of community or common struggle in oppressed groups.

With increased political impact, institutions such as the government and universities began to put more resources into minority-related disciplines. This had both good and bad effects on minority research. On the positive side, new researchers came into the field who were members of the groups they studied and far more sensitive to cultural nuances.

On the negative side, not all new researchers represented progress. Before the explosion of new work on minority status, most people working in the field had a genuine interest in the issues and a dedication to finding solutions. But as government grants grew and new ethnic studies programs opened on college campuses, new cadres of researchers came into the field. These researchers often lacked the ability to perceive racism and its relationship to the American scene and to incorporate those concepts into research analyses and reports. The result was that many researchers, armed with government and foundation grants, produced racist studies. Many minorities entering these fields felt frustrated and powerless in their attempts to improve these research projects, which had basic conceptual flaws (3).

As with mass communication research, the study of minorities as a scholarly and socially useful concern underwent tremen-

dous growth, and through systematic replacement and modification of theory, new approaches evolved. But, not surprisingly, when the two fields intersected to meet the demand for more sensitive and meaningful media treatment of minorities, the result was not totally successful.

Research on Minority Audiences for Mass Communication

Most of the early research on minority audiences dealt with blacks and seemed to answer directly the Kerner Commission's concerns. Later research looked more at Hispanics and, to a much lesser extent, Asian and Native Americans. Early studies seemed to examine issues from the point of view of the needs of media institutions or government agencies, not from the audience or minority group perspective.

For example, Dervin and Greenberg (13) did a thorough study of the communication habits of the urban poor with specific analysis of black channel preferences, media usage and media attitudes. Much of the data collected were analyzed to give guidance to social service professionals trying to deal more successfully with ghetto clients. The authors even referred to the literature on development, modernization and media use in underdeveloped countries. The implicit values here are apparent. Despite new models of research, the focus of such studies is the kind of pro-social attitude change and audience manipulation associated with early research concepts. Although forces outside of minority communities can use such work for numerous purposes, to the varying benefit or detriment of those communities, the potential of such work to improve service to minority audiences is seldom tapped. Instead, the analytic approach to the data and the application to mass communication are anti-audience.

Another area where mass communication researchers often produce data rarely useful in efforts to improve minority service is that of portrayal studies. Berry (2) points out that material on portrayal falls into mainly two types: one consists of content analysis, the other of commentary and criticism. Much research for both types recently has been done on minorities, but these studies rarely are applicable in efforts to improve minority programming services, and specific design of these studies to serve audience needs has been limited. While such studies are a good first step, they must be seen as just that —a first step—to be of real use to better programming.

Gans (17) says of content analysis:

> ...[T]he content analyst generally posits attitudinal or behavioral implications that follow from the content and assumes that all or some of the viewers feel, think or act in accordance with these implications. The shortcoming of this approach is that content analysts are trained professionals whose "use" of television fare is totally unlike that of viewers... This doesn't invalidate content analysis, of course, but it suggests that inferences about audience behavior and attitudes—other than as hypotheses for audience research—cannot be made from content or content analysis.

Similarly, commentary and criticism have little use other than historical and documentary, representing one individual's studied interpretation of data of varying quality. Most research on minority portrayals is based on an assumption that the audience brings little prejudgment to their interactions with mass communication. This body of research shows the residual of mass society and the passive audience because most of its face value exists only if one believes that the audience brings nothing to the mass communication process and takes away only what the media present.

Only when content analysis and commentary and criticism of portrayals are used as a first step in assessing the communicating institution's attitudes—not audience attitudes—does it help minority audiences. Also, as stated in the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (38) study, there should be continuous research to be a barometer of change or the lack of it. Extensive research on the impact of these portrayals must be designed and used to support programming demands on broadcast agencies and regulators. Only by using this combination of research approaches can research on minority portrayals aid the minority audience.

Regarding the broadcast agencies and regulators, more research must be done and disseminated on how minority audiences can best interact with and influence these institutions. Many citizens groups representing the interests of different racial and ethnic minorities have met with network and production company representatives to improve the portrayals of minorities in commercial television drama with varying degrees of success (39). More research must be done to document and analyze how and under what circumstances minority audiences can change their relationship with broadcasters and other mass media agencies. The work of Schement *et al.* (32), analyzing a license challenge mounted by a Hispanic community group, is a good example of such research.

Another important but underdeveloped method that mass communication researchers can use to aid the minority audience is more investigation and supplementation of the most common research already done by communication institutions: audience surveys. Like content analysis, audience surveys are a methodology that can be exploited more usefully than is currently the case. For example, instead of surveying minority group media uses and analyzing them for value manipulation, researchers could survey such groups in order to represent better their viewpoints to themselves and other audiences, and to design programming intended not to change those values but to disseminate them for mainstream understanding. But researchers seem to stay away from audience surveys for any purpose other than analyzing exposure and use.

Yet such research, especially if performed at a local level, would supplement the types of surveys done by broadcasters for ascertainment. A well-done study of audience needs delivered to a station manager should contribute to both academic audience work and better programming. But these kinds of research projects generally are left to students or a group held in even lower esteem—commercial researchers.

In considering more audience survey work, academic researchers claim that such studies do not contribute to theoretical knowledge in the mass communication field. But observers can debate whether or not the real issue for academicians is theoretical worthiness, or simply a professional elitism that encourages lack of interest in audience-generated opinion. At any rate, more serious consideration of the role of the audience in mass communication might yield more theory construction than expected.

The Influence of Commercial Industrial Research on Minority Audience Research

One may speculate that much research on minority audiences seems to be basically anti-audience and anti-minority because of bad timing and bad influence. Bad timing occurred when academic communication researchers, who were not yet ready to frame proper questions about minority audiences, were suddenly given

a mandate to produce useful research on the topic. Bad influence developed when, outside of their own research communities, the main example they turned to was commercial broadcast research firms that set an anti-audience example.

Commercial research in the communication industry is almost always concerned with audience measurement and, to a much lesser extent, with questions of audience reaction and preference. A sizeable portion of what is termed "audience research" should be called "audience measurement." (36)

This research approach makes sense since most of this research is developed to serve the institutions of commercial television and radio, whose major information needs are related to identifying the demographic characteristics of their audience. Rating services such as Nielsen and Arbitron gather data on the size and composition of the television audience. Stations, networks and advertisers use these rating services to determine the price of time bought and sold (38).

Any program decisions affecting audience needs are determined by audience measurement of pertinent audience characteristics. In commercial broadcasting, these characteristics are those related to the advertiser's target audience. The advertiser's target audience has no relationship to audiences that need service or information through a particular medium. Any overlap between audience needs and the advertiser's needs is completely coincidental.

Eiselein (14) points out—

> The primary source of broadcast revenues is advertising. Advertising is the central economic problem that minority owners, producers and programmers face . . . The problems of gaining advertiser support for minority broadcasting cross-cuts both minority groups and media. . . .

One can add minority audiences to this list because the existing system of research to support advertising is even more anti-minority audience than it is anti-audience. While the prevailing system of research is not concerned with the program needs of the general audience, it actively prevents development of programs for minority audiences. Commercial broadcasters have little incentive to target programs to minorities or to mainstream minority concerns into general programming; the nature of ratings research encourages the advertiser's lack of concern about these groups. Ratings underrepresent such groups, lump minorities together or classify them in ways that negate their existence in the audience, or provide no demographic data that advertisers could use to make intelligent decisions should they want to appeal to diverse groups (14, 36).

This type of rating research is well entrenched in broadcasting, although it is undergoing some change as a result of the same political and economic pressures that have influenced all minority-related research. Advertisers now have realized that minority communities also spend money and have seen the wisdom of trying to identify minorities' needs as consumers. As a result, better identification of minority audiences exists within commercial rating systems. Consequently, there is demand for more creative research. For example, use of anthropologically oriented research techniques specifically designed for the Mexican-American culture have shown that it is possible to measure accurately a Spanish-speaking audience and that these measurements do not coincide with the results of conventional ratings techniques (14). Such research may influence methods for minority audience measurement.

The need for better research on minority audiences also was clarified to advertisers by the "Frito Bandito" campaign by the Frito-Lay Company in 1967.

The Frito Bandito was the reincarnation of the Hollywood film stereotype of Mexicans. The campaign was discontinued after lengthy protest by the Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee (38). Such political pressure serves to show advertisers and broadcasters the need for more information on minority audience attitudes.

Nevertheless, there can be no confusion about the basic nature of commercial research used by the communications industry. Its only audience concerns are those of manipulation for advertising purposes. Commercial research is too sophisticated to continue to treat mass society or stimulus-response models, but its sophistication is based on getting around the limitations of those models by obtaining the best possible measurements of exposure through strictly quantitative surveys. Traditional research shares a lack of regard for selectivity or need within the audience with early research models. The major application of commercial research outside of audience measurement is to supply data on consumer behavior, analyzed strictly for its meaning for the advertiser or media institution, never for the audience. Therefore, academics with research interest in mass communication and minorities cannot assume that any research by applied, industrial, commercial researchers is necessarily useful for minority audience needs. Instead of being influenced by such work, mass communication researchers should be taking over their function and developing new approaches to minority audience survey research.

Problems with the Use of Minority Audience Research in Public Broadcasting

Jack Lyle (26), former CPB director of communication research, has stated—

> In addition to being effective, research should be parsimonious and cumulative. These goals are particularly desirable in an organization like public broadcasting, in which resources are always short. On the other hand, these goals—and research generally—seem to be difficult to achieve in public broadcasting.

Lyle goes on to list several factors producing these difficulties: the decentralization of the public broadcasting system; the wide variance in the structure and goals of public broadcasting stations; the lack of consensus inside and outside of the industry as to what type of programs would meet the definition of "alternative programming"; and the difficulty of identifying and reaching the small specialized audiences that "alternative programming" should serve.

Given Lyle's analysis of the problems of effective research for public broadcasting, it is interesting to note the existing research habits of public broadcasters and the impact of those habits on service to minority audiences. The Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting (36) surveyed research utilization by public broadcasting management. The task force study found that a majority of station managers use research systems other than commercial rating services and community ascertainment. All station managers indicated that telephone calls, letters and local surveys were the most frequently used alternative systems for assessing audience preferences. Some use of commercial ratings was documented, with 22.6 percent of surveyed managers reporting routine use of ratings, and 33.9 percent reporting irregular use of ratings. The greatest use of rating data was for making program scheduling decisions. Community ascertainment was a third method of research used by public broadcasters, but it is required by the FCC only at license renewal once every three years.

The principal similarity of these three research methods is that they are not, in use or concept, typically attuned to minority audience needs. The problems of rating services have been discussed above. The most frequently used systems—telephone calls to stations, letter writing and responses to surveys—are traditionally not used by minority communities to communicate with public or commercial broadcasters (36).

Ascertainment studies as a key research method show promise, but they may or may not benefit minority audiences directly. Interestingly, minority groups were one of the main sources of pressure on the FCC that led to the legal requirement for ascertainment within public broadcasting. Prior to 1976, public broadcasting stations were exempt from ascertainment requirements on the grounds that educational channels were by definition specialized and should be treated differently from commercial stations (30). Ascertainment is not necessarily conducted in a manner that truly assesses the program needs of minority audiences; attitudes toward the possibility of more stringent ascertainment requirements for public broadcasting vary with the station management (36).

With research habits of such a varied, nonrigorous nature, it becomes difficult to determine whether or not public broadcasting is truly achieving its goal of providing alternative programming to audiences. But, as Lyle points out, there is a lack of consensus on "alternative programming," which is just one part of the lack of consensus on goals among the people who shape the public broadcasting industry. Lyle (26) identifies four distinct approaches to "alternative" programming with various degrees of input from the broadcast audience. Katzman (21) says that "alternative service" may be the central philosophy of public broadcasting, but "this undefined concept means different things to different licensees . . . Within a station, individuals often differ in their goals, but there tends to be more agreement within an operation than across operations."

Given this confusion, it is not surprising that minority audience needs are not properly researched. Audience needs and the rights of the audience to demand services are among the concepts that are a source of disagreement in defining the goals of public broadcasters. All too often, public broadcasting agencies and organizations distrust public opinion and audience expression such as that of the social scientist. The pro-social manipulation of audiences seems to fit the professional philosophy of public broadcasters in the same way it fits the professional philosophy of social scientists.

That philosophy is based on the belief that, as professionals, broadcasters know their audience needs far better than does the audience itself. Cantor (4) has done research on the tendency of media professionals to be more concerned with their "secondary audience" than their "primary audience." The secondary audience includes such people as industry executives and the production group. In the case of television producers, Cantor found that most producers have created for themselves an image of the audience that views their shows. Such images are often limited to stereotypes of broad social characteristics that do not match the actual audience composition revealed by audience research.

Broadcasters also seem to fall prey to programming for a secondary audience. This seems to be especially dangerous in public broadcasting, which has had so little input from minorities for such a long time. Although the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting (7) has stressed the importance of service to minority audiences, Katzman (21) points out "the area of programming to meet

local minority needs is one of the most uneven in public television." Complicating minority audience service on a national level is the fact that while CPB is heavily involved in funding Hispanic, black and other specialized audience programs, other funding sources such as corporate underwriters tend to look for programs with mass appeal.

With the existing profile of research use by public broadcasters, it is not surprising that increased use of research on all levels is an acknowledged need for public broadcasting, but the increased use of research is not necessarily better use, and not necessarily in the interest of minority audiences. For example, while some stations are beginning to understand commercial rating system applications to public broadcasting audiences, they are not yet familiar with the biases of those systems toward minority viewers. Public broadcasters must learn the liabilities as well as the assets of commercial audience ratings. Otherwise, they will begin to believe that audience measurement *is* audience research and absorb the commercial broadcasters' ethic of equating increased numbers with increased audience service.

Keegan (22) points out that although public television has established special programming goals for itself, it has failed to develop parallel research activities with which to evaluate the achievement of those goals. Better use of research in public broadcasting must represent a match of research methods with broadcasting goals, but such a matching process is impossible when there is a lack of consensus on goals.

The CPB Office of Communication Research has begun to explore qualitative television rating systems, an innovation that it believes has special application to public television by covering many viewing impact variables. But OCR cannot limit itself to research systems that can function without specific goals, because too many problems of research relate to specific goal evaluation. This is especially true of minority-targeted programming. Certainly, it is not the job of mass communication researchers to set policy concerning audience services for public broadcasters or to determine the relationship of minority audiences to these broadcasters. But policy must be set for researchers outside the system so they may make innovative contributions.

Consensus building in public broadcasting must be undertaken through better explication of central philosophies, such as those expressed in the Carnegie reports. Central agencies such as the Corporation for Public Broadcasting can then help implement these philosophies. At the same time, the decentralized needs of the public broadcasting system must be considered and efforts begun to relate those needs to central concerns. This approach is particularly important to minority audience service. Mass communication researchers must understand the nature of the mandate of public broadcasting to serve minority audiences. They also must understand the diversity in the public broadcasting system concerning service to these groups. Researchers then must examine their approaches to research, their attitudes about minorities and audiences and their own orientations to mass communication institutions.

If after reaching that understanding, mass communication researchers form research questions with these factors in mind, the research they generate will help clarify public broadcasters' relationships to minority audiences. By specifying ways to identify and reach minority audiences through surveys, analyzing *their* input and in *their* interest, researchers can help clarify alternative service to these groups. By taking into account the decentralized as well as

the centralized character of the public broadcasting system, researchers can build research agendas with implications for all public broadcasting. More importantly, by performing minority audience research with approaches sensitive to those groups, mass communication researchers can expand the body of knowledge in their field, as well as the quality of public broadcasting service.

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The State of Minority Audience Research

The following three papers deal with a specific racial or ethnic minority group in the United States. Each paper reviews the body of knowledge on these groups as audiences of the mass media and presents some information on their status as minority groups within the American community.

Asian-American Audience Research and Public Broadcasting Programming

K. Kyoon Hur

In November 1978, the Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting published a report with recommendations on how best to increase and improve public broadcasting's service to minority audience members (30). In addition to its comprehensive examination of such important issues as minority employment, training and programming in public broadcasting, the report pointed out the importance of and the need for minority audience research in public broadcasting, and it examined several problems concerning such research.

One of these was the problem of "lumping of nonwhites into one broad category," as described by the report:

> The practice of lumping nonwhites into one category, as is done by some audience measurement companies, combines blacks, Hispanics and Orientals into one amorphous group. Such a practice fails to distinguish the viewing and listening patterns between and among these groups. (30, p. 86)

Indeed, ethnic differences in media habits and attitudes have been well documented in past research concerned with minority media behavior, although most of these research studies usually include only a narrow range of two or three ethnic groups, most commonly blacks, Latinos, blacks vs. whites, or blacks vs. Latinos (1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 12, 26, 28, 29, 36). In a recent review of minority audience research, Comstock and Cobbey have thus hypothesized that ethnic minorities not only have a distinctive orientation toward television and other mass media, but also different tastes and preferences in television programming and other media content (5).

The purpose of this paper is to identify Asian Americans, among other minority audiences, in their media habits, communication channels and other variables related to their media behavior. Despite the increasing research interest in minority audiences in recent years, specific Oriental populations have been either neglected or included, and thus hidden, among general cross sections of populations used as subjects in previous research. It is, therefore, largely unknown whether the media behavior of Asian Americans is different or similar to that of the general public or other minorities. If public broadcasting is to be successful in improving its program services to minority audience members, the needs and interests of Asian Americans must be understood. Such understanding will be

of direct benefit to broadcasters, both public and commercial, serving Asian-American audiences, and it can aid in targeting programs and channels to these groups.

This paper is, therefore, composed of three parts. First, there is a review of the growth of Asian-American audiences and their general demographic characteristics. Second, there is an analysis of data gathered from several studies of Asian-American media behavior and other related variables such as ethnicity and socio-economic status. Here, though limited in scope, the findings of previous research will be presented, and the limitations of the available evidence will be discussed. Third, there is a presentation of a research model that can be used as a basis for ascertaining Asian-American audiences, as well as other minority audiences. Also presented will be some problems in surveying Asian-American groups.

Definition and Limitation

Asian Americans defined in this paper include Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese and Koreans. While there are many other ethnic groups that can be categorized as Asian American, such as Vietnamese, Thais and even Indians, they were not included in the present analysis mainly because of their short history of immigration and settlement or their relatively small population size in this country. Also, the classification used in this paper is in accordance with the United States Bureau of the Census data classification in which more detailed population characteristics of Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and Koreans were provided (33). However, inclusion of Vietnamese and other Indochinese populations is warranted in future research, since the proportion of these groups in the United States has been increasing at the fastest rate in recent years.

Asian Americans and Their Characteristics

Asian Americans in the United States have been one of the nation's fastest growing ethnic groups for the last ten years. In 1970, the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated that Asian Americans constituted less than one percent of the total United States population. A decade later, the bureau estimated the Asian proportion at six percent and admitted this figure was probably an undercount. The growth rate of Asian Americans in the United States is largely due to the increasing number of Asian immigrants to the United States in recent years. Changes in immigration policy embodied in the McClellan Immigration Act of 1965 ensured a steady flow of Asian immigrants to the United States. The number of Asian immigrants in the United States increased from some 21,000 in 1965 to some 160,000 in 1977, about a 600 percent increase. In 1965, Asians constituted only seven percent of the total immigrant population; by 1977, the Asian proportion increased to about 32 percent. Interestingly, the majority of these Asian immigrants to the United States had come from three countries until 1978: Taiwan, Korea and the Philippines. For instance, immigrants from these three countries constituted over 60 percent of the total Asian immigrants in 1977 (34). Beginning in 1978, Vietnamese added a new scene to this immigration picture. In 1978, there were some 90,000 Vietnamese immigrants admitted to the United States, a figure second only to that for Mexican immigrants. Added to these official immigrant figures has been the increasing number of Indochinese refugees admitted in the United States in the last five years. Since 1975, between 130,000 and 150,000 Indochinese refugees annually have entered into the United

States. Thus, when these Vietnamese and other Indochinese refugees begin to appear in official census data, Asians will comprise an even larger proportion of ethnic minorities in the United States.

Data presented in Table 1, although somewhat outdated, illustrate some Asian-American population characteristics. Perhaps the most interesting data are the ratio between foreign-born and native populations for each of the four Asian-American groups. While both the Japanese and Chinese populations were composed of more American-born populations than foreign-born populations, the reverse was held for the Filipino and Korean populations. This pattern is expected to continue in the 1980s, except for the Chinese community, which has been experiencing a continuous increase in new immigrants. The Japanese community has not seen any significant increase in new immigrants over the last ten years. The number of Japanese immigrants to the United States has been relatively small and stable. For instance, the number of Japanese immigrants was about 3,000 in 1965 and about 4,000 in 1977.

In general, population characteristics of Asian Americans correspond to the history of Asian migration to the United States. Although there is variation in the pattern of immigration between and among four Asian-American groups, Asian migration to the United States occurred in two distinctive movements. The first movement, beginning between the 1890s and 1920s, was composed mainly of unskilled farm laborers who settled primarily in Hawaii and the West. They often were illiterate and from rural areas of their mother country. The second movement, occurring largely after 1965, consisted mostly of paraprofessionals and professionals who had a wider range of interests and skills and settled in the Midwest and the East. They usually were from a modern, urban environment and well educated in their mother country. In other words, the differences between the two groups of immigrants are in their level of educational achievement and occupational status. Various statistics on the Asian-American population indicate that the new wave of Asian immigrants or the later generations of the early immigrants have a higher educational level

TABLE 1

Selected Demographic Factors for Four Asian-American Populations

	Japanese	*Chinese*	*Filipinos*	*Koreans*
Total Populations	586,675	433,469	336,823	70,598
Birthplace				
Foreign-Born	21%	45%	53%	54%
Native-Born	79%	55%	47%	46%
Median Years of Schooling	12.5	12.4	12.2	12.9
Percent of High School Graduates	68.8%	57.8%	54.7%	71.1%
Mean Family Income	$13,511	$12,210	$10,651	$12,540

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census (33).

and more professional occupational status than the old immigrant generations (4, 6, 13, 20, 21, 22).

Table 1 shows comparative data on the socio-economic characteristics of the four Asian-American populations. The Japanese and the Korean populations are somewhat similar in their socio-economic characteristics. Their educational and income level appears to be higher than that of the Chinese and Filipino populations; the Filipino population has the lowest educational and income level. It appears, then, that the socio-economic achievement of Asian immigrants is not related to the history of immigration. In spite of its short immigration history, the Korean-American population seems to have achieved a similar or even higher income level than the Japanese and Chinese populations. Such is not the case for the Filipino population. This suggests that another important factor for distinguishing ethnic minority groups is the degree of assimilation, which often has been correlated with social mobility in ethnicity research (10, 11).

In summary, Asian Americans have expanded rapidly in the past decade and are expected to continue to do so in the years ahead. In order to recognize and meet the needs and interests of these Oriental subcultures in the American media, their socio-demographic characteristics must be explained both within and across group settings. The above presentation has thus shown the differences between two distinctive groups within each population and the differences across the four specific Asian-American groups.

Asian-American Audience Analysis

Asian Americans are perhaps the most underrepresented ethnic minority as subjects of research on media behavior. A search of the scientific literature on the media behavior of Asian Americans shows that only four studies have dealt directly with the media habits of Asian Americans: three on Koreans (20, 25, 37) and one on Chinese (14). None was found for Japanese or Filipinos. Others were concerned with the acculturation and communication process of Asian immigrants (4, 19, 23, 31) or the ethnic language press serving some of these Asian-American groups (13, 21). The latter two types of research provide limited information on the media behavior of Asian Americans. The scarcity of Asian-American populations in the scientific audience research literature thus makes it difficult to provide comparable data on the media behavior of Asian Americans. The focus of this section is therefore on issues of substance —implications from the findings of these studies, limitations of the available evidence, and a future research agenda.

An analysis of studies on the Asian-American audiences reveals that the following factors have been examined in the course of these studies: media usage, including both American mass media and ethnic mass media; media preference and/or the content preference; motivations for media exposure and preference; and factors affecting media exposure and preference. Since the last category encompasses all, it will be incorporated in the discussion of the first three factors.

Media usage: In discussing the media behavior of Asian Americans as well as most other ethnic minorities in the United States, two types of media consumption have to be taken into consideration: American mass media consumption and ethnic mass media consumption.

Certainly, ethnic media consumption depends on the availability of ethnic media for a specific ethnic group in a given community, and the availability of ethnic media varies by community, depending upon the size and economic

structure of ethnic groups in the community, as well as on demands. For example, Hur *et al.* (16) found that there were more Japanese, Korean and Chinese radio and television stations and programs in Los Angeles than in Chicago, and that there were more radio and television programs for Japanese, Koreans and Chinese than for Filipinos. There are a number of factors contributing to the consumption of ethnic language media. One is the structural factor that influences the availability of ethnic media as well as the quality of service by these media. This includes the size and economic power of ethnic groups in a given community. A second factor is the composition of an ethnic group. There is enough evidence that ethnic media consumption is related to ethnic language fluency and length of residence in the host country (4, 17, 19, 23). A third factor is the extent to which members of an ethnic group maintain ethnic group identity. This includes both psychological dimensions of ethnic identification and behavioral manifestations of ethnic group attachment, such as ethnic friendship networks and memberships in ethnic organizations (15).

Some actual data on the consumption pattern of American mass media and ethnic mass media by Asian Americans are found in the studies by Lee (20), Kim (19), Nagata (23) and Won (37). In general, the available evidence in these studies indicates that the immigrant's consumption of American mass media steadily increases over the years, while his use of ethnic mass media decreases gradually over the years and is replaced by the host mass media. Nagata (23) demonstrated differences in interpersonal and mass communication behaviors among first, second and third generation Japanese Americans. Both Chang (4) and Won (37) reported some differences in mass media behavior among three groups of Korean immigrants: the assimilators preferred American media; the nativistic persons preferred Korean media; and the bicultural persons had access to both types of media.

In another study of Korean immigrants, Lee (20) found the usage of American media and Korean media in the following proportion: American television (95 percent), Korean television (86 percent), Korean newspapers (83 percent), American radio (69 percent), American magazines (40 percent), American newspapers, (37 percent), Korean magazines (24 percent) and Korean radio (23 percent). Since almost half of the respondents in the Lee study were Koreans who had lived in America less than five years, low exposure to American newspapers could be expected. In fact, Lee noted that exposure to American newspapers was related to English fluency, education and income whereas exposure to American television was related only to age and sex. Such findings are not unfamiliar in audience research of the general public. Education and income have been positively related to print media use in the American public. A difference is noted for factors affecting exposure to television. While education and income traditionally are negatively related to broadcast media consumption among the general American public, they are not significant predictors of television viewing among Koreans. A similar finding also is noted in Hsu's study of Chinese in Canada. Thus, television appears to be a ubiquitous medium among Asian Americans, regardless of immigrant generations and their socio-economic status. A close look at the available data further indicates that later generations of Asian immigrants, particularly second and third generation Japanese Americans, show a decrease in the viewing of their own television and an increase in the viewing of American television.

Media and content preferences: Which media do Asian Americans prefer for what kinds of information and entertainment, and what particular content do they prefer in each medium? These are the questions raised in the course of analysis. The most interesting and useful data again are found in Lee's study. As shown in Table 2, newspapers were the most preferred medium for consumer-oriented information, community news and editorial comment, while television was the most preferred medium for international news and entertainment. Surprisingly, English was the preferred language for the use of television for such purposes, in spite of the fact that about 48 percent of the sample in this study reported to have "much" or "very much" difficulty in English.

Ryu (25) also found similar evidence in the relationship between English proficiency and television program preferences. Persons of low English proficiency and of high English proficiency alike preferred international, national and local news at a similar level. Differences are found only in different types of television entertainment, with persons of low English proficiency liking action shows and movies more than do those of high English proficiency. Preference for both national and local news programs also emerged in the ratings of various television programs in a study of 13 ethnic groups in Cleveland by Jeffres and Hur (17). In this study, movies, comedy shows and musical variety programs appeared in the next rankings.

Findings from these studies suggest that Asian Americans prefer television for news and entertainment—a pattern parallel to that of the general American public. As noted in Table 2, however, both American television and newspapers appeared to fail to meet the needs of Asian Americans in the area of consumer-oriented information and ethnic community news. Jeffres and Hur (17) confirmed this notion in their survey of 13 ethnic groups concerning their like of ethnic press and suggestions for changes in ethnic media. A majority of their sample listed "ethnic community news," "news about the mother country" and "news of other ethnics" when asked what they liked most about ethnic press, and suggested more of these types of news for changes in ethnic media content.

Motivations for media usage: Although there has been an increasing trend toward the uses and gratifications approach to mass media research, little information exists about ethnic minori-

TABLE 2

Preferred Medium and Language for Various Media Content

Media Content	*Preferred Medium*	*Preferred Language*
Consumer-Oriented Information	Newspaper (70%)*	Korean (67%)
International News	Television (49%)	English (55%)
News about the Korean Community	Newspaper (87%)	Korean (91%)
Entertainment	Television (72%)	English (62%)
Editorial Comment	Newspaper (62%)	Korean (58%)

Source: Lee (20).

*Percentage figures indicate the proportion of the respondents (N of 279) who cited "the most preferred medium" or "language" for the relevant media content.

ties' reasons for media usage and their gratifications from media consumption. Relevant information to this quest is found only in the Ryu study (25). In general, his study shows that more of the fluent English-speaking ethnics watched television frequently for relaxation or to see specific programs they enjoyed; more of the less fluent English-speaking ethnics watched television frequently in order to learn or gain something of usefulness to their socialization. Most frequently cited reasons for watching television by persons of low English proficiency included the following: "it shows what people living in America are like," "it helps me understand the American language," "it is educational," "it explains how the political system works in America" and "it gives the most complete news coverage."

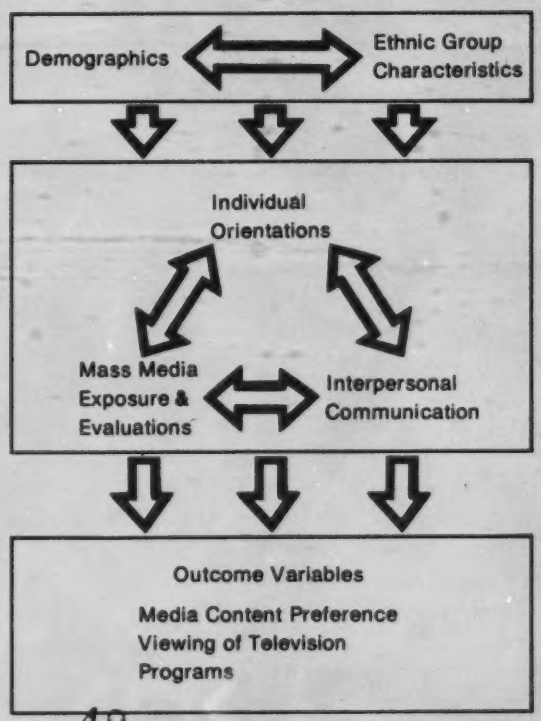
This particular finding is promising when considering the role of public broadcasting in the American society. Perception of public television as predominantly educational fare is widely accepted by the television audience in this country. It has provided specialized program materials for a target audience. Accordingly, public television promises a great potential for ethnic minorities who are in a disadvantaged position in this country and in a great need of adequate socialization agents. Public television can be an important agent for these minorities, if and when it is equipped to meet the needs of these people—which would be possible only when policy makers, researchers and programmers in public television obtain adequate knowledge about the behavior of ethnic minorities' response to television and other media. Unfortunately, however, a shortage of research information does not allow anything beyond the most cursory analysis. In the hope of compensating for such a problem, the following section will attempt to provide a research framework to use as a basis for predicting the viewing of television and the use of other mass media by ethnic minorities and, at the same time, for ascertaining the needs and interests of these minorities.

A Model for Minority Audience Research

Figure A presents a theoretical model that requires an intensive examination of five general sets of independent predictor variables: demographics, ethnic group characteristics, individual orientations, media exposure and evaluation, and interpersonal communication. Outcome variables or dependent variables in the model are media content patterns—viewing of certain television programs and the expected demand of certain programs on public and commercial networks.

FIGURE A

A Theoretical Model for Predicting Viewing of Television Programs and Mass Media Content Consumption



Although it is not the purpose of this paper to test assumptions in the model but to identify the extent to which each of them aids in the prediction of viewing certain television programs, the ordering of variables in the model needs an explanation. The model takes both demographic factors and ethnic group characteristics as "givens" in terms of predicting audience behavior for particular media content, but sees them as constraining the other determinants of this behavior: general exposure and attitudes toward the mass media, patterns of interpersonal communication and individual orientation variables. Each of the two types of "first-order" predictors and the three types of "second-order" predictors can be seen as interacting with each other at each level in important ways.

Mass communication researchers have long noted that traditional demographic variables such as sex, age, education, income, occupation and race are reliable predictors of audience behavior. Such information would not only locate audience television viewing behavior patterns within the social structure, but account for the influence of social structural variables on television viewing behavior.

Closely related to the traditional demographic predictors and particularly relevant to the media behavior of minority audiences are ethnic group characteristics. This set of variables, which have been only sporadically operationalized as predictors of television viewing behavior or other mass media usage, should not simply be treated in terms of race or nationality. Measures of ethnic group characteristics can include the following: place of birth (foreign-born vs. American-born), intermarriage (spouse also ethnic), language use, observance of ethnic customs, intent to socialize in ethnic heritage and ethnic identification. As Greeley (11) pointed out, these ethnicity variables are important predictors of social behavior that can no longer be ignored in social science research. In addition to the traditional demographic variables, ethnicity variables would locate the position of individuals in an ethnic group and the position of ethnic groups in the society.

As have been reviewed, the major social predictors of television viewing and other media usage are the demographic and ethnic factors. However, there must be greater insight into the individual processes and orientations that underlie the ability of demographic and ethnic factors to predict television viewing. In this sense, four individual orientations are identified to explain the selective gravitation of people into the audience for certain television programs on public television and commercial networks. They are information seeking, preference for realism, internal-external focus and preference for stability.

The concept of information seeking emphasizes a central dimension of the active nature of people's television viewing. Few viewers suddenly appear in front of their television sets without expectations and needs that they hope to satisfy. People not only bring their expectations but their previous experiences to their interaction with the media. Considering ethnic minorities' great needs for consumer-oriented information and news about their own communities, public television can be seen as appealing to information-seeking motivations in an effort to improve services to ethnic minorities.

Preference for realistic content taps the directional nature of cognitive function. Motivational research in psychology has moved toward cognitive theories that stress the directional rather than the energizing nature of motivation. Cognitive theories include those on people's information processing of television content. Public television could profitably

consider how people perceive and conceptualize television content in various time frames. For example, do people perceive public television dramas as more realistic than those on commercial television? Do people with a preference for realistic vs. fictional content watch more public television than those who prefer more escapist material? What types of programs attract people who prefer realism to fantasy?

The variable internal-external focus stresses an individual's inner experiences vs. interpretation of his environment. Thus, this concept would indicate not only an inside-outside focus within the individual but a local-cosmopolitan dimension as well. Public television needs to know what types of programs attract people whose orientation is primarily internal or external in specific situations. For minority audience research, this schema particularly applies to finding out whether or not members of an ethnic group are individually oriented or group-oriented and whether they are bicultural or unicultural.

The last factor, stability, is viewed in terms of two categories: growth and preservation. Consistency theories and balance models are examples of preservation theories. Stimulation theories, which view the individual as having some hunger for exposure to new stimuli, represent the other category. In minority audience research the concept of stability taps the extent to which ethnic members prefer television program materials promoting preservation of ethnic culture to those challenging existing customs and traditions.

Television viewing is only a part of a complex net of communication behavior related not only to other mass media but also to interpersonal communication channels. People are continuously and often simultaneously involved in both mass and interpersonal communication. Thus, attention should be paid to interpersonal interaction of audience members as it would have a bearing on their exposure to television programs. For example, public television programmers should ask whether or not people involved in more extensive interpersonal networks are more likely to hear about and be drawn into public television programs than people in less extensive networks. Previous research in ethnic minority communication has demonstrated well that interpersonal communication is related to media usage, media perception and media content preference (15).

Viewing of television also needs to be examined in the wider context of a person's general media exposure. Exposure is usually indexed by the time spent with a medium or the frequency of use of various media content categories. In most research attention has been confined to a single medium, rather than to a group of media. In order to understand audience behavior, exposure to various types of television programs, as well as to other broadcast and print media, needs to be examined. Potential audiences for public television can be identified by identifying relatively homogeneous groups of individuals with similar media use patterns and by comparing them to public television's audience. Likewise, public television's services to minority audiences can be improved by comparing one minority group to others in order to distinguish the needs and interests of minority members in the same group or in different groups.

Finally, much less attention in communication research has been devoted to audience evaluation and criticism of communication content. Media critics continuously publicize anecdotal evidence of an increasingly dissatisfied audience, but there has been little documentation of the extent of media criticism and of the media exposure habits of the segment of the audience that is dissatisfied. In such a

sense, studies by Jeffres and Hur (18) and by Tan (28) have provided valuable exploratory data on ethnics' evaluation of television and newspapers. Findings by these studies indicate that the more educated and affluent the members of ethnic groups, the more they were critical of their ethnic images portrayed in major media. Also, reliance on media for news of ethnic community and mother country made audiences more critical of the metropolitan mass media coverage. Such kinds of information should, therefore, be a base for ascertaining the demands of ethnic minority audiences.

The theoretical model presented and discussed above has identified a richer set of general predictors of the usage of television and other mass media than is currently available. With so little known about the dynamic social structure of television viewing behavior and other mass media usage by ethnic minorities in general and Asian Americans in particular, this study attempted to provide an understanding of the dynamics involved in serving ethnic minority audiences by reviewing the limited available research studies on Asian Americans and their media behavior and by proposing a theoretical model that can be used in future research. Perhaps the knowledge gained from the literature review is too little and the proposal made for future research is too ambitious. It is by no means an easy task to carry out the proposed project across cross sections of ethnic minority samples. There are a number of problems in surveying minority audiences. First, there is the problem of the probability sampling method: A statistically representative sample of the nation will contain too few representatives of ethnic minorities. One solution to this problem is the use of the stratified sampling method or the quota sampling method obtaining a greater degree of representativeness in the quota frame; however, this method also has a problem. It is often difficult to get up-to-date information for an accurate quota frame. This produces the second problem of locating and identifying ethnic minorities from the nation's population. Aside from the problem of unlisted telephone numbers in ethnic households, it is extremely difficult to identify ethnic minorities by their surnames in city telephone directories. Use of the ethnic directory and/or the membership lists of various ethnic organizations may be a compensatory method; however, this also presents the problem of including only those who are active in ethnic affairs. Third, there is the problem of language in interviewing or questionnaire mailing, which often results in a low response rate.

There is not, of course, a readily available solution to problems inherent in minority audience survey research. It is hoped that concerted efforts by concerned researchers who are keenly aware of these problems will provide research that is feasible, interpretable and comparable in result. It would be foolish to ignore these problems and, consequently, ethnic minority populations in cross sections of general samples. It would be more foolish not to undertake any research efforts and thus fail to meet the needs and demands of ethnic minorities in public as well as commercial television programming.

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Communication Research on Black Americans

Richard L. Allen

Abstract

This paper examines and reviews evidence on the role of television in the lives of blacks and suggests approaches to improve the quality of the research. The evidence was reviewed with regard to portrayals, exposure patterns, attitudes and motives and effects. With the majority of the research being conducted on the portrayal of blacks on television, it was concluded that these studies should continue but with more of an emphasis on interpretive analysis, or with an assessment of the meaning of the content to blacks as it relates to their cultural experiences.

The research over the last two and one-half decades did indicate that blacks are increasingly presented on television; however, the number has remained fairly constant over the last ten years. Moreover, the quality of presentations has been considered to be stereotypic. Under the heading of exposure, the research has indicated that blacks as compared to whites have different viewing patterns. Although the research was not unanimous on this point, when blacks are analyzed separately, it appears that their viewing patterns take the same form as shown for whites. That is, those of lesser education and lower socio-economic status tend to watch more television, and those of higher education and higher status tend to watch more public affairs programming. Mention was made of the problems related to the theoretical and operational definitions of television exposure. The evidence on blacks' attitudes and motives toward television generally have supported the notion that blacks have a substantially different orientation toward television. That is, as compared to whites, blacks tend to have different program preferences and tend to be more favorable toward television. The effects research, which has been largely impressionistic, makes it difficult to specify empirically any general picture of television's effect on blacks. It has been reported that various educational programs have a prosocial effect (e.g., improving reading skills) on black children. Several conceptual and methodological shortcomings of past research were identified:

- lack of sensitivity to the cultural experiences of blacks;
- overemphasis on comparative studies;
- little attention directed toward obtaining the reliability and validity of communication measures;
- inadequacy of sample sizes;
- overemphasis on descriptive investi-

gations as opposed to explanatory or theoretical studies; and

- the absence of theory.

Approaches to concept and method validation and basic strategies for collecting more useful data were outlined.

Introduction

In recent years, policy makers and communication researchers have given increasing, albeit still rather minimal, attention to the role of the mass media—more specifically television—in the lives of blacks and other minorities. The concern has been that the media have poorly served blacks and other minorities; there is also concern about whether or not society is fulfilling its responsibility and obligations to them. The Kerner Commission, appointed by President Johnson, was charged with investigating the reason for the series of racial disorders. One of the topics investigated in this extensive study was media coverage of race relations. The commission's report, known as the Kerner Report, noted that the visibility of blacks was low, particularly with respect to their routine portrayal as part of the society, and when blacks did appear on television, they were presented as whites saw them, not as they saw themselves (79).

This scarcity of black images on television led the commission to the concern of what "effect" this may have on both blacks and whites.

Although the media have been charged with poor performance, they have been cited as the one institution equipped to bridge the gap between two separate and unequal societies: black and white (7, 51).

Research interest in this area has been in fairly close correspondence to the concerns specified by the commission, namely the portrayal by television of blacks and other minorities, the influence of television on them, and the relationship of the communication environment of blacks as compared to whites, and much less frequently, to other minorities. This is not to say that other questions have not been explored or that other media have not been considered, but only that the bulk of the research has been along these lines. Perhaps this is because of their societal implications.

Television, as opposed to the other media, has most often been selected for examination because it receives the greatest share of the people's free time (7), and because it plays the dominant role in the mass communication of ideas in the United States today (79). In a similar vein, Comstock (24) cogently pointed out that it is clearly documented that television has altered American life in regard to the expenditure of time. It has not only changed the way the hours of the day are spent, but also the available choices for the disposal of those hours. In so doing, it has brought the age of the mass media to maturity.

The electronic media—especially television—might well play a more important role in connection with various activities among blacks than among other groups. One obvious reason often reported is that blacks rely more on television for all purposes and hold more favorable opinions toward the medium than do the majority of other people (16, 39). Although black-white differences in newspaper and radio use disappear when geographic and income disparities are controlled, the heavier use of television by blacks does not disappear (14). Blacks' reliance on television, rather than on newspapers, as a source of certain kinds of information also has been reported (26).

It should be stated at the outset that we believe that the attitudes, beliefs and actions of the various minority group members warrant the same descriptive and analytical attention as those of whites if we are to understand better the

relationships between public opinion, mass media and race relations in the United States. Moreover, it is maintained that it is necessary to investigate the various minority groups' relationship to the media separately. A number of issues clearly differentiate the various groups, not only because of their different historical experiences in American society and their attendant implications, but because of the great difference in the previous research and literature on the various groups. While there has been a paucity of communication research on nonblack minorities in a comparative sense, a vast literature exists on black Americans. All too often, however, it has been assumed that there exists a marked similarity as exemplified in the interchange of the terms "black communication behavior" and "minority communication behavior." A few studies conducted comparing the various minority groups on a number of communication variables suggest that such an assumption is not warranted (6, 77).

This paper will review the evidence along four different dimensions: portrayals, with emphasis on stereotyping; exposure or media use; attitudes and motives, with particular attention placed on the orientation toward television; and effects. In each of these areas, we will examine the more representative evidence on blacks as a distinct group as well as comparative studies, i.e., blacks as compared to whites or other minority groups. This review will encompass work done on adults and nonadults, with emphasis on work done in the field of communication. Some of the major conceptual and methodological problems of past research will be pinpointed, along with some suggestions for conducting more useful studies.

Portrayals

Taking a historical view of the major trends in television's portrayal of blacks over the past two and one-half decades reveals distinct patterns. In the 1950s, blacks were nearly totally excluded from television, save for stereotyped roles. In the 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement forced the inclusion of blacks—as actors and as newsmakers—on television. The most recent trends have been the continued entry of blacks on television (79). In the late 1970s, the number of blacks appearing in commercials and dramatic roles sharply increased. They usually appeared in integrated settings, frequently associated with law enforcement, and did not share the amount of wickedness attributed to other minorities (31, 73).

Clark (21) suggested that three stages —nonrecognition, ridicule and regulation —relate to whether or not and how certain groups are presented on television. In the case of blacks, after previous nonrecognition, they were included in television as objects of ridicule, primarily in comedy. The regulatory stage, on the other hand, was characterized as the portrayal of blacks in regulatory roles in dramatic fiction, such as law enforcer. Clark further argued that the fourth stage, which he identified as being characterized with respect, has yet to be attained.

Given this rather impressionistic overview, we turn to the empirical research. Over a 28-day period, O'Kelly and Bloomquist (64) investigated segments of television content of the three major networks. Out of the 2,309 characters coded, blacks and other minorities were portrayed in only 4.9 percent of the television fare. Similarly, Segger and Wheeler (73) found that the number of television portrayals per minority group typically was not representative of the group's proportion within the national population. Further, their results and the work by Northcutt *et al.* (63) showed that minorities were more likely to be concentrated in personal service occupations and to be victims of stereotyped images.

Lemon (55) examined, among other things, the nature and frequency of portrayals of blacks and women in situation comedies and in crime drama. Using as her data base all crime dramas and situation comedies broadcast during prime time as listed in a spring issue of *TV Guide*, she reported that although black females appeared about one-third as often as black males, they were portrayed similarly to black males, with only slightly different percentages of "dominant," "equal," and "dominated" appearances. This finding held for both situation comedies and crime dramas.

Roberts (68) studied black portrayal in network newscasts over two three-week periods in 1972 and 1973. He found that blacks appeared in 23 percent of news segments, most frequently in stories about civil rights and most often in non-speaking appearances.

Several studies have documented the increase in visibility of blacks on television (26, 69). Greenberg and Atkin conducted an investigation of the 1978 television season. Their sample week included 81 different fictional television series, of which 43 had one or more black characters, that is, half of the television shows had a black. They stated that this proportion has been relatively constant since 1970. This partly explains the findings of Barcus (11), who compared his findings from 1975 and 1971, and concluded that black representation on television had not significantly improved. Making a distinction between adult and children's television, Barcus also noted that while adult televison had broadened its representation of blacks, children's television lagged behind.

A detailed analysis of black representation by Greenberg and Atkin (39) pointed out that in 1978, nearly half of the black characters existed on only six shows; thus, blacks were segregated among themselves, with the other half being widely diffused. Further, two-thirds of all black characters were in situation comedies or in Saturday cartoons. Also going beyond the quantitative issue of black representation, Comstock *et al.* (26) concluded from their review of the literature on television entertainment and commercials that over the past 25 years of television, the portrayal of blacks has been stereotypic. Similarly, Donagher *et al.* (32, 66) and Pierce *et al.* observed that despite the increased casting of blacks in major roles, character protrayals within these roles may still convey and support stereotypes (79).

Several researchers have documented that children as well as adults make substantial inferences about blacks' role in society from television content (38, 44). Greenberg and Atkin (39) reported that two-thirds of a sample of white children used television as their primary source of information about how blacks talked, looked and dressed. Thus, they argued, viewing positive or negative and law-abiding or law-breaking portrayals could set up the conditions for forming or changing attitudes and perceptions according to what is viewed. In short, their findings point to the continued importance of assessing the quantity and quality of the portrayal of blacks on the omnipresent television set.

Almost all of the studies on portrayal have used content analysis, which has been directed disproportionately at the sheer incidence of the occurrence of black characters. More attention should be directed at interpretive analysis (36), or at assessing the meaning of the content to blacks as it relates to their cultural experiences. Less ambitiously, the content may be assessed in terms of whether or not those featured black characters typically convey consistent impressions and images regarding selected behavioral activities such as family roles and language patterns, to name a few (39).

Exposure

A common theme running through much of the literature has been concerned with the comparison of blacks and whites on television exposure. That is, compared to that of whites, what is the viewing behavior of blacks? A fairly consistent and prevailing response has been that blacks generally watch more than whites and have a distinctively different relationship with television.

Bogart (14) analyzed a national sample of more than 15,000 adults comparing the media exposure of whites and nonwhites. He found that the differences in newspaper and radio exposure between the two groups were primarily due to differences in social position and geography, but that television played a rather different role. In this instance, nonwhites were more frequent viewers than whites of non-prime-time television. During prime time, nonwhites and whites view television with approximately the same frequency. Bower (16) found the same relationship when he compared blacks to nonblacks. Separating out the nonwhites, he found that younger people were the heaviest viewers. During prime time, upper-income nonwhites were heavier viewers than lower-income nonwhites.

Allen and Clarke (6) compared the media exposure patterns of blacks and the second largest minority, Latinos. Among other things, they found that markedly different relationships exist for blacks and Latinos on the variable of average time spent viewing television. These findings suggest caution in lumping the various minority groups together for a comparison to whites. As stated earlier, the common practice is either to lump the groups together for analysis or to use the results obtained for one group, primarily blacks, to discuss minority group media behavior in general.

Greenberg and Atkin (39) cited a study conducted in Cleveland in which they found that the nine-to-ten-year-old white youngsters reported daily viewing of shows, averaging six hours per weekday, compared with four hours for the better-off children. The poor black children averaged seven hours. A study conducted in Philadelphia reported that the middle-class white teenager viewed television on Sunday an average of three and one-half hours, whereas poor whites viewed four and one-half hours and poor black adolescents viewed six hours (41).

Bower (16) found that the greater viewing of black adults is not due to the greater proportion of households of lower income and education. Comstock *et al.* (25) found this general relationship to be "startling" and interesting because, they said, it deviates from the general rule for social phenomena, and it has not been widely commented on. The more normal situation, they stated, was for differences among ethnic groups in American society, except those differences deriving from the parent culture, to be attributed to differences in education and income.

The more puzzling aspect, they pointed out, was that blacks adopted television despite their relative exclusion from it until recent years. This pattern, they contend, existed before the widespread appearance on television of black actors and entertainers. The authors provide no definitive explanation for these results, but they speculate that because television's rise to dominance coincided with the period when blacks were entering the mainstream of American life, they became particularly attuned to the mass media. Additionally, this occurred while blacks were showing dissatisfaction with the treatment they were receiving from magazines and newspapers. Television, therefore, was the preferred medium because it did not have the same stigma of the older media. Accordingly, as a consequence of black exclusion from main-

stream culture and educational experience over the decades prior to the arrival of television, it may provide the best picture of the larger society into which blacks aspire to enter. This may lead to blacks' not perceiving television as a threat to print media consumption, which many whites do perceive. These aforementioned influences, they argued, presumably would have their greatest impact on blacks of higher education and income and thus lead to the deviation from the pattern held for so long by the white population.

A similar explanation was provided by Comstock (24). He stated that people with lower income and lower education tend to spend more time watching television, with education yielding the greater difference. Among its many definitions, education has been thought to reflect an individual's having more imagination in disposing of time and a greater capacity to exercise that imagination. "Book culture" has been used to describe the cultural allegiance of the better educated, which leaves them less interested in television. In comparison to whites, Comstock noted, this description does not seem to apply to blacks. Although Comstock referred to a number of factors that may account for this discrepancy, the one most pertinent to this presentation relates to the differential attachment to "book culture." Blacks were generally less imbued with this characteristic promoted among whites by education; years of education simply did not mean quite the same things for blacks and whites in this particular respect.

While in a comparative sense, the findings that have informed these various descriptions and explanations may be sound, Allen and Bielby (3) showed that the relationship obtained for the black population is the same as it is for the general population, when blacks are examined as a distinct group. For example, they found that the lower the education and socio-economic status (the composite of occupation, income and perceived social class), the less the total television viewing. Moreover, they reported that the more educated tended to view both more majority and more black public affairs programming. In a different paper (4) the same authors reported that the more educated tend to read more black "non-establishment" print media. Given the description of "book culture," it appears to exist for the black population in a way similar to the white population. The discrepancies may be in the differences in the analysis strategies.

Several issues need to be addressed concerning television exposure. These issues have general relevance beyond simply assessing the television exposure of blacks. Miller and Cannell (61) maintained that television exposure is a secondary activity that is often participated in while doing other things (e.g., ironing clothes, writing letters, having a conversation). The salience of the activity is attenuated, and thus time spent reports are likely to be underestimated. On the other hand, Bechtel *et al.* (12) and LoSciuto (56) reported that television viewing is overreported. These tendencies, they asserted, ranged from approximately 25 percent to a 40-50 percent overreport in diary estimates of viewing time. They concluded that the respondents' consistent overreporting reflected a lack of awareness of the complexity of behavior during the time the television set is on.

The issue of whether or not television viewing is overreported seems to be related to what one is willing to consider viewing, which is directly related to the concern over the definition and the measure of television viewing. Clearly, time spent watching television probably does not command one's undivided attention, but may be considered valid whether anything is learned or not.

By the concept of television exposure, some researchers mean such things as addiction to television, the amount of content absorbed or the decision-making behavior one performs to obtain personal gratification (70).

These different implied meanings have led to different measures. It has been noted that the correlations between different ways of measuring television viewing are relatively low (42, 57).

When one wishes to predict gain in information, according to Miller and Cannell (61), the better measure may be one that emphasizes "attentive" watching. On the other hand, when one's interest is in determining time spent per se, the degree of uninterrupted concentration on the medium becomes less of a concern.

This distinction may be viewed as embodying the criticism of time spent measures by those who argue for use of the concept of message discrimination (23).

With respect to television, this measure has been presented as an improvement on older methods of ascertaining television exposure, which have emphasized the amount of time spent with the medium. Basically, the message discrimination measure involves asking the respondent in a survey interview what he or she has seen on a particular topic in the medium of television within a particular time frame. The interviewer records the respondent's reply and probes to see if any additional thoughts can be obtained. The reputed advantage of message discrimination over other television exposure measures is that the former measure focuses on actual, as distinct from potential, exposure. The message discrimination measure requires that a respondent recall something actually seen to qualify as an instance of television exposure. Other measures of time spent with television do not take into account what actually happens while the television set is on (60).

From the aforementioned comments, it seems evident that the investigator should be clear as to how television viewing is conceptualized (e.g., as either attentive or sporadic watching) and how the instructions to the respondent are formulated, which corresponds to gathering the desired information. Stated differently, the problems seem to be the absence of an explicit theoretical definition of the concept, which results in a confusion as to what the concept means; the inadequate operationalization of the concept; and when a theoretical definition is implied, a gap between the definition and its operationalization.

Attitudes and Motives

We move to the examination of blacks' orientations (attitudes and motives) toward television. Allen (1) studied the relationship of attitudes toward four different media among black adults: television, newspapers, radio and magazines. He reported that blacks depend heavily on television evening news for information about the black community and that this news was not supplemented by information from other media.

Block (13) asked blacks and whites about sources used for consumer items, and he found that blacks were less likely than whites to rate the newspapers a useful source, whereas they were more likely than whites to rate television as a useful source of information. Also, Shosteck (74) reported that the primary sources of news about the black community were television and newspapers, in that order. High-status blacks most often used these media; low-status blacks used talking to people. Moreover, "militant" (compared to "less than militant") blacks were less likely to use television or newspapers as sources of black community news and were more likely to receive their news from talking to fellow blacks and from the radio, in that order.

In addition, militants showed stronger interest in receiving more black-oriented programming.

National samples examined by Comstock *et al.* (25) revealed that blacks have greater preference for action/adventure and less preference for situation comedy and programs featuring families, including action/adventure series featuring family units. Blacks also expressed an attraction to programs that feature black actors and actresses (40).

Carey (18) revealed that blacks exhibited similarities in what shows were liked least and in what constituted a bad show. He speculated that the data were confounded by lack of control for the lower income of blacks. When these controls were employed, results were contradictory. For example, Fletcher (35) found little difference in preferences of black and white children. On the other hand, Greenberg and Dervin (29) found a significant correlation between the program preferences of low-income black and low-income white adults.

An interesting study was conducted in Cleveland by Hur and Robinson (48). Using a sample of black and white adults, they studied preferences for and exposure to *Roots*, the highest-rated program in television history. Their findings revealed that more blacks than whites watched *Roots* and among these viewers, blacks watched more episodes on the average than whites. Also, black viewers thought that the series was more historically accurate and talked with more people about the program than did whites. An investigation was conducted to determine how blacks and Mexican Americans negatively evaluate television, with blacks being more critical than Mexican Americans. Additionally, when television viewing was held constant, age was positively related to the evaluation of both groups. That is, older blacks and Mexican Americans tended to have more favorable views toward television, and only for blacks was education negatively related to the evaluation of television. The same author, Tan (78), investigated how black and white adults evaluate black portrayals on television. He found that black adults were more likely than whites to be critical of black portrayals in television. In contrast, more whites than blacks believed that these programs appealed to black viewers, that there were enough blacks on television and that television portrayals of blacks were generally positive.

Allen and Bielby (3) explored differences among black adults in attitudes toward television and the social processes accounting for these differences. A recursive structural equation model was employed to interpret patterns of direct and indirect effects of a set of variables representing demographic and socio-economic characteristics, general and race-related attitudes, television exposure, preference and evaluation. Briefly stated, blacks of higher status, younger ages, greater alienation from white society and more education were somewhat more likely to perceive bias on television. In addition, blacks who viewed television more and those who were more alienated from white society were more likely to have a black-oriented show as their favorite. Finally, there appeared to be a "viewer sophistication" effect among blacks determining their evaluation of one type of black programming: black-oriented situation comedies. Selective viewers, those exposed to more black public affairs programming, younger and more educated viewers and those expressing black identity attitudes all tended to be more critical of black sitcoms as the one kind of majority-controlled television fare aimed toward blacks.

With an interest in examining the black-white differences in the gratifications sought from one type of information

presented by the media—political content —Stroman and Becker (76) found that there are little overall differences between blacks and whites in gratifications sought from the political content on television.

In one of the few studies of black adults' use of public television, Stevenson (75) posed the following questions: Do blacks watch public television less than whites? Do programs on public television directed toward black viewers attract the intended audiences? Using data collected by public television networks in Mississippi and North Carolina in 1975, he reported that in both areas the level of public television viewing was greater for whites than for blacks. This difference, however, disappeared when education was controlled. Moreover, it was revealed that blacks tended to prefer programs directed toward blacks. As pointed out earlier, this relationship is also obtained for commercial network programming.

In summary, most of the work that falls under the rubric of "attitudes and motives" has focused on preferences and, more specifically, on black-white differences in content preferences. The commonly held notion that blacks have a substantially different orientation toward television as signified by their attitudes toward, and motives for, watching has been generally supported by the research studies. It also has been documented that there are substantial within-group differences. In other words, there appears to be substantively significant heterogeneity within the black population.

Effects

When the term "effects" is explored in research literature, a wide variety of relationships generally are thought of (25).

We will be using the term to refer to a broad range of consequences that may follow from exposure to a specific program, a program type or an entire season of programs. Under this designation, the amount of time individuals spend with television would not be included, despite the effect of taking the individual away from other activities.

Since the media, and especially television, have been charged with intensifying social disturbances in the black community (1, 51), with lowering blacks' self-esteem (22) and with teaching blacks to be uncompromising in their quest for equal rights (45), it might be assumed that this has been an active area of research. Such has not been the case.

A considerable amount of impressionistic research has been produced concerning the effects of television on blacks, but communication researchers have conducted few empirical studies. There is little evidence on whether or not blacks are differentially affected by television violence and other classes of content that have been experimentally manipulated. Of the available literature, most of it has examined samples of young children and adolescents, with psychologists participating in a great deal of the research. Further, little evidence exists on whether blacks are differentially affected by television violence and other classes of content that have been experimentally manipulated (25).

It has been shown that children's positive and negative attitudes toward their own and other races can be influenced by the particular ways in which characters of different ethnic groups are depicted (54).

Bogatz and Ball (15) revealed that white children who viewed two years of *Sesame Street* became more positive toward other races. Gorn *et al.* (37) reported a similar finding in their experimental study of children from an all-white nursery school. Ball and Bogatz (15) reported that significant positive gains in reading skills were found in grades one through four among children who watched *The Electric Company*. The

impact was similar for black, white and Mexican-American children.

With a sample of black and white adults, Leckenby and Surlin (53) investigated what these adults learned from *All in the Family* and *Sanford and Son.* They found that the more adults watched the programs, the more likely they were to report that the programs were entertaining and that they showed how most blacks and whites behave in everyday life.

Literature on modeling by blacks presents a complex picture. Clark (22) found that black adolescents had more positive attitudes toward a black television character who conformed to the norms of society than they did toward a black militant character. Clark concluded that the portrayal of blacks in middle-class roles is a form of social control rather than a source of black identity. Donahue (33) explored the extent to which television models influenced black children's perceptions of appropriate behaviors in specific situations. Elementary school children were told about a situation in which some action seemed desirable. They were then asked what their favorite television character would do, and what their parents and best friends would do. He reported that the influence of television was similar to the influence of the children's parents or friends. A few experiments have indicated that young black children are more likely to imitate the play behavior of white models than that of black models (62).

Several observers have stated that black children who consume a steady diet of white media content will develop negative self-images, low black identity and perceptions of white superiority. Little evidence, however, is available (47). One experimenter indicated that the self-concept of black children was enhanced by watching a movie showing successful black athletes, entertainers, soldiers and families (30). Because of the problems of conceptualizing and measuring self-concept and black identity (50), it can be said only that information on this topic awaits further research.

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (28) asserted that media messages may result in various kinds of alterations in audience effect. Extending the ideas of Klapp (52) and the theoretical writing of Durkheim, DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach maintained that in societies where the mass media hold central roles, the nature of media fare has substantial effects on people's morale and degree of alienation. They reasoned that the sense of collectivity and "we feeling" that enhances morale and counters alienation is a result of successful social relations that cannot be developed or maintained without effective communication systems. Further, they stated that an important element in that effective communication is the existence of continuous positive information about groups to which people belong. Moreover, people who depend on mass media systems as a primary source of information about their group can experience changes in morale and degree of alienation when notable changes exist in the quantity or quality of the information presented. They, therefore, hypothesized that blacks (among other groups) will tend to increase or decrease their morale or degree of alienation as the nature of the media messages about them undergoes change.

Although this hypothesis has not been subjected to empirical examination, it seems to be worthy of attention for several reasons. First, although the quantity of information about blacks has increased from the 1950s to the 1960s, it has remained fairly stable in the 1970s; the quality of that information, however, is still stereotypic. Second, several research studies have indicated that many blacks tend to rely on the media, specifically television, for information about the black community. This latter finding and

the former well-documented finding would suggest that many blacks are adversely affected by television. To test this hypothesis it would be necessary to monitor continuously the quantity and the quality of the television fare concerning blacks, to measure blacks' dependence on television as a source of information about their group and to relate that information to measures of fluctuation in the morale and degree of alienation of blacks over time. In short, this hypothesis would suggest a longitudinal design, which has seldom been used in communication studies on blacks.

It seems appropriate to point out some of the more recent thinking in effects research. McLeod and O'Keefe (59) pointed out that studies of the effects of messages—transmitted either in printed form or electronically—have dominated mass communication research as well as the public policy questions posed. Emphasis has been overwhelmingly placed on message content and source that may cause changes in the attitudes or behavior of the audience. Seldom is some communication behavior examined as the outcome variable affected by antecedent variables. Moreover, this imbalance has led to a tendency to overestimate the impact of communication messages and to underestimate the active role of the audience in determining media use and effects. The move now is toward supplementing past research with various models that specify what people do with mass communication.

Overview

Each of the dimensions on which television and blacks have been evaluated may be characterized in terms of the predominant approach taken. For example, studies that have pursued the issue of the portrayal of blacks have almost exclusively used content analysis, whereas studies of exposure have primarily employed field methods (surveys and observational techniques) and, less frequently, experiments. On the other hand, studies of attitudes and motives toward television in general have typically used survey methods, but rarely experiments. Finally, the effects studies have used both surveys and experiments, with psychologists conducting the bulk of experimental studies.

The mainstream of experimental research performed in communication has been built on an implicit assumption of "perfect transmission" of messages (20, 59). That is, they have adopted the strategy of holding "all other factors" constant while measuring the effects of messages. From the point of view of good experimental design, this strategy seems quite reasonable. Among these "other factors" held constant, however, communication variables are typically held at a high level of constancy by isolating the subjects, by ensuring they read the messages and by other means that yield maximum attention. In the communication world where "noisy" conditions and varied motives of reception dull the impact of the message, these ideal conditions are rarely met (59, pp. 121-122). For this and other reasons (e.g., lack of generalizability), the number of studies of media effects using survey methods has increased. No matter which dimension of communication research one examines, much of the available literature has been of limited comprehensiveness and has reflected nontrivial, conceptual and methodological shortcomings (25, 26, 40, 67). Some of the major reasons for these problems may be identified as follows (3, 49).

First, there appears to be a lack of sensitivity toward the unique cultural experiences of blacks and a poor conceptualization of relevant models. For example, Allen and Chaffee (5) conducted

a small-scale investigation of racial differences of specific family communication pattern items (FCP) and the two-dimensional model that has been based on them. One of the dimensions is called socio-oriented. It is indicated by the frequency of (emphasis on) communication that is designed to produce differences and to foster harmony and pleasant social relationships in the family. The other dimension is called concept-oriented. It involves positive constraints to stimulate the individual to develop his or her own views about the world and to consider more than one side of an issue. This research question was posed because the FCP topology was identified in the U.S. Surgeon General's Report (on the influence of television violence on children) as a factor that was probably an important mediating element in explaining the causal connection. Allen and Chaffee concluded that the results raised the strong suspicion that the two-dimensional model of family communication patterns fits the black culture much less well than it fits the white culture from which it was originally derived.

Second, emphasis has been placed on comparative studies with little theoretical or empirical concern for the appropriateness of methods and procedures across different populations. The preceding example applies here, but there are additional concerns. Comparisons between blacks and whites, for instance, have failed to control for the lower socio-economic position of blacks. A frequent approach has been to compare media behavior and attitudes of a group of low-status blacks to a group of whites undifferentiated on socio-economic variables. Moreover, although black-white comparisons yield useful information, they have received a disproportionate amount of attention, and too often these studies have been used to make inferences about blacks. Seldom have studies taken into account the diversity within the black community.

Third, while not confined to studies investigating the communication environment of blacks, little attention has been directed at obtaining good reliability and validity estimates of various communication measures. It is generally known that these measurement errors have an effect on the parameter estimates, which may be exacerbated in comparative studies, where differential reliability and validity may obtain for the different groups employed. For example, television exposure may be more reliably measured for whites than for blacks.

Fourth, there is a lack of adequate data on large and representative samples of black Americans. Aside from the issue of lack of generalizability, there is the attendant issue of larger sampling error, which may make it difficult to detect real differences. Further, many of the studies have included too few blacks to justify some of the comparisons between the black and nonblack populations.

Fifth, many of the studies have been entirely descriptive. Few studies, for example, have focused on the relationship between various background variables and television attitudes and behaviors, and on how these relationships may operate through various orientations.

Finally, the research situation dictates that mention be made of the lack of theory in this area. As Poindexter and Stroman (67) pointed out, the research literature reveals a set of fragmentary findings on various aspects of the communication process with little effort made to replicate, integrate and build on the findings to construct future theory.

Depending on the topic under investigation, it seems likely that some of the existing theories of communication, or fragments thereof, may be revised and made more general in order to apply to

blacks and, perhaps, other minority groups. Other theories, however, would have to be constructed that take into account the unique circumstances of blacks in America. This applies particularly to the case of media policy and programming decisions that specifically affect the needs of blacks.

In short, the state of the art of communication research is indeed sparse and somewhat problematic. The available research, however, has consistently found that television is of substantial importance in the lives of blacks. These findings may have implications for both programming policy and theory development.

What follows are some general approaches to concepts and method validation and basic strategies for collecting survey data from black populations. Emphasis is placed on survey methods because many of the pressing questions in communication are being examined by these methods; these methods provide the most efficient way of obtaining large representative numbers of blacks; and a large variety of topics and issues may be handled relatively inexpensively.

General Approach to Concepts and Method Validation

Some general approaches to concepts and method validation that may minimize those problems have been identified by Jackson *et al.* (50, pp. 9-12). The authors argued that the random probe and the back translation techniques may be useful in increasing the validity of studies using survey methods.

The random probe developed by Schuman (71) is a procedure for assessing the meaningfulness and shared understanding of items in response to the problems of closed-ended items and the uncertainties faced by researchers in collecting data "outside middle-class American society." This procedure requires that each interviewer use predetermined follow-up probes for randomly selected closed items in the interview schedules. Following the respondent's choice of the closed-ended alternative, the interviewer asks the respondent to explain what he had in mind when making the particular choice. The respondent's comments are then used to compare the intended purpose of the item and selected closed-ended alternative, with meaning as described by the respondent.

Back translation may be used as a method of confronting the problems of cross-racial instruments for comparative research. Basically, back translation is a procedure of successive translations to arrive at questions that have the same meaning in two or more cultures (81). Given the recognition of language differences in middle-class American culture (and standard survey research endeavors) and the black population, the procedure also may be useful in ensuring the meaningfulness of various survey questions.

From the work of colleagues at the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, the following data collection strategies, sensitive to the lifestyle of black people, are recommended:

- Because of the possibility of biasing interviewer-respondent interactions, it is argued that black interviewers should be used to alleviate possible biasing effects. Also consideration must be given to other potentially biasing factors such as social class, language and sex differences.
- Usually researchers have to assume that respondents are being honest because we rarely have any external verifications. When checks are made, respondents tend to show surprisingly low validity (65).

Charles Cannell and associates have identified procedures that seem to increase significantly the validity of response (17, 46). The strategy they suggested consists of—

- giving a respondent specific instruction about what he or she is expected to do, with an emphasis on the importance of accuracy and detail;
- getting the respondent to commit to giving accurate information by signing an agreement; and
- having the interviewer acknowledge proper responses through the use of positive and negative reinforcement.

Up to this point, we have discussed only ways of dealing with survey data. Because experimental methods are well standardized and the experimenter generally has better control of factors that may jeopardize internal and external validity, no mention was made of these methods per se. In assessing the impact of television programs, however, many problems may result. They have been discussed by Ball (8), who provided a detailed presentation of the issues. In the case of content analysis, the problems that exist have more to do with the limitations of the analyst than with the nature of the phenomenon under investigation. Pierce *et al.* (66) have set forth stimulating questions to pursue and useful procedures to use.

The gist of what we have said and the implications of the critique of this area are that the analysis and the inference drawn therefrom are no better than the quality of the data. We need to improve the quality of the data in this socially important area of study. Moreover, research must be conducted with a sensitivity toward whether or not it is intended to have an impact on science or policy. Related strategies often are quite different and tend to emphasize answers to very different questions.

Taking into account the aforementioned shortcoming, it safely may be said that the available data indicate that the frequency of the portrayal of blacks on television should be increased and the quality of that portrayal should be improved. Some research clearly suggests that the current portrayals have an impact on how blacks view themselves as well as how other groups view blacks. Moreover, some of the research indicates that blacks generally consider television policy less than responsive to their needs and content biased against them.

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Latinos and Public Broadcasting: Developing a Research Agenda

Nicholas A. Valenzuela

Public broadcasting's institutional goal is providing an "alternative" service to that offered by the commercial electronic media. It is concerned with fostering diversity of program content and with addressing the needs and interests of special audiences, including minority audiences. The Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting (47) states that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting has defined the term "minority" as "a racial or ethnic group which, by virtue of its cultural and ethnic identity, is subjected to the disadvantages inherent in a position of inequality in the American social structure." Also a matter of record is that the improvement of service to minority audiences is a long-accepted mandate documented in the Carnegie Commission reports, in CPB statements of policy and in the programming strategies of individual public broadcasting stations. Toward this end, the task of the work presented here is to document, as far as the literature will allow, salient points about Latino audiences.

Throughout this paper, the term "Latino" will be used to refer to all people of Spanish language heritage or "Latin" culture, living in the United States. Specifically, this includes people who may or may not speak Spanish, but whose ancestry is rooted in a Spanish-speaking culture, regardless of their present U.S. citizenship or residency status. The three major Latino subgroups referred to here are Chicanos (Mexican Americans), Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Use of the term Latino, however, is not limited to these three groups; it also includes Chileans, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans and other Central and South Americans who have resettled in the U.S.

Many of the studies reviewed for this paper focused on one or another of these subgroups. The term Latino is used in general discussion of these subgroups.

It is hoped that the information presented here will contribute toward defining a socially beneficial research agenda dealing with Latino communication needs, therefore resulting in more and better programming and public broadcasting services targeted toward Latinos. This paper will deal with U.S. Latino audiences, defined as those media audiences of Spanish-language heritage, whether or not they currently speak Spanish and regardless of surname or country of origin.

The Latino Population

Latinos are the fastest growing population in the United States, with a rate of national increase (births over deaths) estimated to be three times that of blacks, the nation's largest minority (22). The Latino population is estimated to be 16 million to 20 million or more, depending on the number of undocumented workers one chooses to count. This estimate does not include an additional 3.1 million Spanish-speaking residents living in Puerto Rico. Twenty million, however, is the population size accepted by most commercial broadcasters, or about nine percent of the U.S. total (19). Because of a younger median age and continued immigration to the United States, documented or otherwise, the Latino population is expected to become the nation's largest ethnic minority group. The only question is how long it will take (19). Even now at its current estimated size, the United States is the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world, surpassed only by Mexico (65 million), Spain (37 million), Argentina (26 million) and Colombia (25 million) (19).

Latinos have long been stereotyped as a rural people concentrated only in the Southwest. In fact, Latinos are dispersed nationally with large numbers in the Midwest, the Northeast and the South. Some states such as New York, New Jersey and Illinois have more Latino residents than the southwestern states of Arizona, Colorado or New Mexico. Also, the large majority of Latinos, 84 percent, is concentrated in urban metropolitan areas to an even greater extent than the overall population, 68 percent (19).

Despite large numbers, national dispersion, urban residence and a high degree of bilingual ability (78 percent), Latinos lag behind in income, education and other socio-economic indicators (19). The median Latino family income is 25 percent below the national average; nearly one-fourth of all Latinos live in poverty. Educational attainment continues to lag several years behind the national average. Political representation continues to show Latinos far below what we would expect, given their population size. Among the issues of high concern in Latino communities are law enforcement, housing, health care, discrimination, employment and education (11). Latinos are a heterogeneous grouping of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other South and Central Americans. The problems they face, however, appear to be rooted in the socio-economic status allowed them in the United States and in the resulting exclusion from the most influential social systems (19).

English Language Mass Media and Latinos

The history of the English language media and Latinos shows a scarcity of programming targeted towards Latinos, stereotyping in particularly negative terms, especially during times of national crisis, exclusion from the media industry and a continued refusal to support Latino programming by Latinos advocating Latino concerns and points of view.

Gutiérrez (19) writes, "Novelists, short story writers, moviemakers and television producers have long delighted in portraying Latinos in stereotyped roles revolving around the Latin lover, the bandit, the faithful servant, the mustachioed overweight slob, the mamacita and the woman with dark eyes, a low cut blouse and loose morals." Gutiérrez has further analyzed the treatment of Latinos in the mass media during times of crisis. During World War II, the mass media used the term "pachuco," a derogatory ethnic label to describe Latinos involved in the "Zoot Suit" riots. In recent times, the term "illegal alien," implying something both wrong and unknown, has been popu-

larized by the mass media rather than the more accurate descriptor "undocumented worker." The criticisms against negative media portrayals and stereotyping have been well documented by Martinez (31), Limón (27), Lewels (25, 26), Rendón (36) and Gutiérrez (16, 17).

Helen Franzwa Loukas, in the 1977 report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, found that in spite of ten years of consciousness on the part of broadcasters concerning the need for increased participation by minorities in the mass media, the results were merely *Window Dressing on the Set* (49). The total number of minorities working in the media industry had not increased appreciably, and most of those who were allowed in were not in policy-making positions. In 1979, an update of this study, "Window Dressing Revisited," found the situation unchanged (14).

Rubén Salazar (50), speaking to a 1969 conference on the mass media and Mexican Americans, said "the Mexican-American newspaper beat in the past was nonexistent." He continued, "The media, having ignored Mexican Americans for so long, but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story . . . It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican American, are not amused that under that *sarape* and *sombrero* is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo [Anglo]."

Spanish Language Media

Over a decade later, Salazar's words seem appropriate to describe the current surge by the American mass media to "reach" the Latino audience. The success of Spanish-language media has finally gotten the attention of American advertisers and marketers. Spanish language media in the United States, however, are not owned and controlled by U.S. Latinos.

In the United States, there is a large amount of Spanish-language radio and television and even print material available. Latinos are the only ethnic group to have a coast-to-coast television network, Spanish International Network (SIN). There are also over 600 Spanish-language radio stations in the U.S. Much of Spanish-language print material is imported from Mexico and other Latin American countries, although there are as many as nine Spanish-language dailies regularly distributed in the U.S.; all but one are printed in the U.S. (60).

Gutiérrez (18) and Schement (39), however, have shown that Spanish-language radio is not owned or operated by Latinos. At best, Latinos usually constitute the on-air talent while Anglos constitute the ownership. Even worse is that the majority of the music and news comes from outside the communities that consume it. Most of the music played on Spanish-language radio comes from Mexico or other Spanish-speaking countries. Much of the news is simply translated from the wire services, although there is more emphasis placed on news about Mexico and Central and South America. Local, regional or even national news coverage of Latino events in the United States is for the most part ignored, unless the events have already won the attention of the English-language media as well. And English-language media have tended to portray Latino issues in terms of the "problems" they represent to the dominant society. The result is that many Latino concerns and points of view simply are not reported because they are not considered newsworthy.

To many people, the existence of SIN makes Latinos an enviable minority group. Spanish-language television began in San Antonio, Texas, in 1962. In less than 20 years it has grown into a coast-to-coast web that truly operates as a net-

work. The greatest gains have been during the last few years with the use of satellites to deliver much of the programming. Repeater stations with satellite receiving capability have been used to increase the potential reach of SIN. Additional Repeater stations have raised SIN's potential reach from 72 percent to 95 percent of the Latino audience in the U.S. (37). It would appear that the Latino community has raised itself by the bootstraps to develop its own media network. Such is not the case.

Spanish International Network is nurtured, and 75 percent-owned, by interests affiliated with the Mexican television giant, Televisa. Through a complex of corporate subsidiaries and allied companies, the network has been able to deal with the Federal Communications Commission regulations and limitations on foreign ownership. Televisa supplies U.S. stations with satellite transmissions and videotaped programs produced in Mexico and owns 75 percent of SIN's stock with Laura Azcárraga, a Mexican citizen. Reynold J. Anselino, an American citizen of Italian ancestry, and his family own the remaining 25 percent.

Spanish International Communication Corporation (SICC), SIN's sister organization, actually owns and operates SIN's network broadcast entities. Anselino owns 22 percent of SICC's outstanding stock. Another 20 percent is owned by Azcárraga. Of the remaining stock, 23 percent is controlled by Fouce Amusement Enterprises, an organization strongly linked to the founding and development of SIN, and 35 percent is spread among other individual stockholders (61).

The programming on SIN is largely material produced in Mexico for Mexican audiences. As the United States has done for years, the Mexican television industry is managing to reap greater financial gains by extending the life of television material to audiences outside its borders. Very little of the programming shown on SIN outlets throughout the nation is produced in the United States. What few programs are produced in the U.S. and intended for the U.S. Latinos are usually public affairs, in-studio interview programs. There have been a few exceptions such as the programs *Sal Y Pimienta*, produced in Florida, and *Villa Alegre*, originally produced for public television.

Another aspect of Spanish-language television's foreign control is employment. While it is true that SIN has been hiring more and more U.S.-born Latinos than it did in its earlier years, the decision-making positions and most of the on-air talent are foreign-born. The traditional argument given for not having more U.S. Latinos as anchors or as reporters has been that their Spanish is not as good (62).

The result is that what at first appears to be a coast-to-coast network existing as a voice of the nation's second largest minority group is actually only a corporate enterprise controlled by a foreign country. Worse yet is that almost none of the programming is produced specifically for the U.S. Latino audience. The only improvements this situation has over English-language media is that at least it is in Spanish and that there is slightly more attention paid to news events in the Latino communities.

Public Television and Latino-Targeted Programs

For the most part, public television programs targeted for Latino audiences have been few and far between. While the following is not an exhaustive list, a few of the programs that have appeared on public broadcasting are mentioned here.

Children's programs have been more researched and apparently more popular on public television. The most successful

have been *Carrascolendas* and *Villa Alegre*, produced during the mid-1970s. Both series were oriented for instructional use and funded by the Office of Education under the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) (1). During the mid-1970s, the ESAA program was established because Congress felt increasing political pressure from the Latino community on all fronts (1). The point to be made here is that public broadcasters did not fund these two children's educational programs; the Office of Education did because Congress responded to political pressure. Almost all television programs targeted for Latino children were similarly funded under ESAA.

David Berkman, ESAA-TV program officer, quoted in a 1976 article, said that $14,900,000 had been granted for bilingual programming during ESAA's first four years. Except for $250,000 granted for a French-Canadian children's program, the rest supported almost all the Latino-targeted national programs on public broadcasting: *Carrascolendas, Villa Alegre, Mundo Real, ¿Que Pasa, U.S.A.?,* and *La Esquina* (57). *Sonrisas* was later funded under ESAA.

Public broadcasting adult programming targeted for Latinos has been more scarce than children's programming. The earliest attempt was *Canción de La Raza*, produced by KCET, Los Angeles (32). It was criticized in other southwestern states for being too specific to Los Angeles.

Perhaps the most successful program for adult Latinos in terms of number of years on the air, was *Realidades*, produced by WNET, New York City. A magazine series, it had several notable features. It was bilingual. It made an attempt to include the three major Latino subgroups while still recognizing the differences between them. And it dealt with various issues important to the Latino experience in the United States: bilingual health communication needs, Latinos and voting, Latino working-class roles in U.S. history, community organization efforts, bilingual education and Latino self-perception.

Presente, produced by the Latino Consortium (based at KCET), is the most recent Latino programming effort on public television. Its explicit goal is to attract both Latino and non-Latino audiences. Its content appears to be just as sensitive as that of *Realidades*. Both of these programs, however, as well as the *Carrascolendas* series, are examples of a key problem resulting from public television's hesitation to support programs specifically for a Latino audience. All three had to be changed to a "more Anglo" format to continue national level funding and exposure (4).

The de facto philosophy of public broadcasting has been to support minority programs that are attractive to all audiences. The priority obviously has been to attract the largest possible audience and to compete for high ratings, rather than to meet fully the communication needs of any minority group. There has been a general lack of direction in programming, as well as poor program quality in non-Latino productions. Such problems are the result of minimal commitment by station managers to Latino-targeted programming and a general lack of funding (34). There is an attitude among the people in control that most audiences are not interested in minority programming (58); consequently financial support has been difficult to obtain. The effect on minority audiences has been disappointing when programs have been cancelled because they did not have the high ratings public broadcasters sought (30). The effect on potential minority producers has been continued frustration and disappointment with public broadcasting, which on the one hand espouses a policy of support for minority programming but on the other hand is unwilling to offer the neces-

sary financial support. The compromise has been to support those programs that attempt to attract a variety of audiences. Examples of these are the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural programs such as *Rebop, Vegetable Soup, Gettin' Over, As*We* See*It, Sesame Street, Infinity Factory* and *The Electric Company* (15).

My conclusion, then, about public television and Latinos can be summarized as follows. Public television certainly has made a significant attempt to serve Latino audiences, but the result still has been far too few programs to meet audiences' communication needs. The efforts have been inconsistent and have suffered from minimal commitment and low funding levels. Perhaps the most prominent problem has been a lack of direction resulting from the conflict between trying to follow through on a commitment to minority audiences and wanting to attract large national audiences.

Communication Channels Used by Latinos

It should be noted that the statistics reported here and in the following sections are subject to the limitations of the individual studies reviewed for this report. There is no one national audience study purporting to have the most exact and generalizable figures. Of the more than 12 studies reviewed, almost all were conducted independently of each other, using different samples and employing different methodological and qualitative standards. My general conclusions reached are based on the consistency of results reported across different studies. They are intended to serve as a guide on a broad, general level and to help in understanding the most pervasive points in the literature about Latino audiences and the media they consume. If there is anything to be said for a model of communication research based on repetition and convergence, then the conclusions reported here should be of some value, although they admittedly lack statistical validity.

Two questions shape this section. Where do Latinos seek out information? What is the comparative use of the different media channels by Latinos?

One of the most consistent findings is that Latinos spend more time with television than they do with any other mass medium (5, 6, 10, 11, 24, 29), just as the overall population does. The second most preferred medium by Latinos tends to vary with the situation and the communication need. The traditional belief by broadcasters that radio is king does not seem to hold.

Dordick and Valenzuela (10) and Brennan (5) found that the medium preferred most was television, followed by radio and then newspapers. López (28), Mackay (29) and Bundy (6) found the order of most-used media to be television, newspapers and then radio. Lampkin's study of Latino adolescents showed that television was the first choice, then radio; third was records/tapes. (24). These teenagers spent 4.5 hours per day watching television, 2.9 hours per day listening to the radio and 1.6 hours per day listening to records or tapes. Brennan noted the percentage of the Latino sample that used each of the three major media: television, 94.5 percent; radio, 75.5 percent; and newspapers, 71 percent. Dordick and Valenzuela's (10) figures for time spent with various types of communication put the use of the mass media in a more realistic perspective. The largest amount of time was spent communicating with other people—3.9 hours per day. Then came television, 3.2 hours per day; radio, 2.9 hours per day; records, 2.2 hours per day; newspapers/magazines, 1.8 hours per day; and the telephone, 0.7 hours per day. Mackay (29) says that the sample he surveyed watched television 3.2 hours per day and listened to the

radio 2.5 hours per day. He further reports that 98.4 percent of the sample watched television, and 85.5 percent listened to the radio.

The mass media and other sources of information are used differently when information about particular topics is needed. Dordick and Valenzuela asked respondents where they went for information about topics such as health, politics, recreation, schools, jobs, various social and civic services and consumer goods (10). In this context, the most popular information source was newspapers. The next most popular sources of information were the government or social institutions that handled these needs. Television was the sixth place people went for information, and radio was the 13th. These findings refer to the behavior associated with searching actively for information. The passive reception of information via the mass media, in particular the electronic media, requires further research.

The findings of other studies also attest to the popularity of newspapers, putting in doubt another long-held myth: that Latinos do not read newspapers but are instead over-average consumers of electronic media. López and Enos (28) found that 42 percent of the Latinos he surveyed read newspapers regularly. Bundy indicates a 59 percent finding (6), with heavier usage among the younger, English-speaking Latinos. Eiselein (11) found that 57 percent of the Latinos regularly read newspapers, especially among the English speaking and among the men who indicated that they also had telephones in their homes. On the other hand, Rustin (38) reports only about 17 percent of rural Latino heads of household read a daily newspaper, while 33 percent read a weekly newspaper. Rustin also cites a Beldon Associates study in an urban area that shows 72 percent of Latinos read newspapers, and 39 percent read magazines. Such discrepancies indicate that use of print media varies along a rural-urban dimension as much as it does with Latino ethnicity.

As a source of news, television and newspapers seem to be used differently for different types of news. Mackay (29) said the first choice for national and international news was television, especially the evening news. For local area news, however, newspapers were the first choice for 61 percent; television was the second choice, 29 percent; and radio was the third choice, 16 percent. Williams (59) and Dordick and Valenzuela (10) also indicate a similar preference for newspapers as a source of local news and information.

Eiselein reports some interesting results from data collected with almost identical survey instruments, but using the telephone for one sample and using face-to-face interviewing for another (11). He reports that for the telephone survey sample, the favorite news sources for Latinos were 41 percent for television, 31 percent for newspapers and 25 percent for radio. For the field survey respondents, the favorite news sources were radio, 83 percent; television, 71 percent; and newspapers, 61 percent. The differences in results might be attributed to methodological differences. Alternatively, they also could be indicative of real differences found among Latinos living in identifiable communities as opposed to those found throughout the entire city or area and reached by telephone. Mackay adds more on this point later.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this look at the comparative use of the media. Television is the most-used of the three major media. Radio and newspapers alternate as the second most-used media, depending on the particular communication need. As a general source of news, newspapers appear to dominate, especially as a source of local area news.

There is some indication that television may be preferred for national and international news. As will be cited later, television and radio are used more for entertainment and recreation. More time is spent communicating with other people than with any single mass medium. There appear to be age, language and possibly rural/urban or socio-economic differences. Teenagers prefer radio, records and tapes after television. Older Latinos have a preference for Spanish media, but they read less than other Latinos. Rural/urban differences could be due to socio-economic differences and to availability of electronic media as compared to print. Differences also could be due to methodological error. More research is needed in this area.

Television and Latinos

Up to this point we have reviewed briefly who the Latinos are, the availability of both Spanish- and English-language media and the comparative use of different media channels. In this section we are concerned with data about Latinos and their relationship to the most-used medium, television. Specifically, we are concerned with the availability of television, and with Latino viewing compared to Anglo viewing, to viewing by other minorities, and across Latino subgroups. We are also concerned with when the most popular viewing times are, how much television is watched and how much English- versus Spanish-language television is consumed. Finally, what are the demographic characteristics of the two types of Latino television consumers, the English-language consumer and the Spanish-language consumer?

Research shows that television receiving facilities are available to Latinos almost universally, as they are with the overall population. Television set ownership was found to be at least 97 percent or higher, sometimes 100 percent by at least eight different researchers: Lampkin (24), Mackay (29), Brennan (5), Wald (53), Eiselein (11), Shain (40), Bundy (6) and López and Enos (28). Multiple television set ownership is indicated by Mackay in 35 percent of the Latinos surveyed. Shain (40) found it to be 45 percent, while Bundy reported 75 percent. UHF receiving capability is reported at 77 percent by Brennan in an early study (5), at 96 percent by both Eiselein (11) and Bundy (6) in more recent studies. Color television set penetration is reported at between 40 percent and 55 percent by Wald (53), Eiselein (11) and López and Enos (28).

The results are inconsistent as to whether Latinos watch more or less television than the overall population. Rosenthall (37) reports that viewing by Latinos is slightly lower than the Anglo viewing time in general, but that it is identical during prime time. Like Rosenthall, Marshall *et al.* (30) found that television viewing by Latinos during weekday afternoons was higher than for the Anglo population, especially among Latino women. Women and teenagers appear to be the heaviest television users.

There are some interesting differences among different types of Latino homes. Predominantly Spanish-language homes seem to watch less television according to Eiselein (11), but more according to Rosenthall (37). Mackay, in surveying Latinos in the heart of the barrio and countywide, found that Chicanos and other minorities countywide watched more television; those from the inner-city barrio area watched less (29). It may be that people from the barrio area, in this case considered by some social scientists to be less acculturated, have different viewing patterns than people who are more acculturated. A Nielsen study reported by Rosenthall (37) shows that Cubans, generally of a higher socio-eco-

nomic status than other Latinos, view more television than the Anglo population in the same area. Rosenthall attributes the higher viewing to the combined effect of both English- and Spanish-language television fare. Similarly, Eiselein found differences in viewing amounts between cities that did and did not have a Spanish-language television outlet, San Antonio and Tucson. San Antonio's Latino population with Spanish-language television available watched more than Tucson's, which did not have Spanish television. López and Enos (28), say that in homes where Spanish predominates, Spanish-language television is the overwhelming first choice.

Compared to other minority groups, the data show that Latinos watch less television than blacks but more than Asians or the sum of "other" minorities. (In this particular study, the Latino respondents were Chicanos living in the Los Angeles area.) The findings of Mackay (29), Lampkin (24) and Shain (40) all coincided. Generally, the result was that black viewing was at or near 100 percent, Chicano viewing was slightly lower and Anglo and Asian viewing was considerably lower. The viewing patterns of Chicanos, Anglos and Asians, however, were more similar to each other than any one of them was to black viewing habits, according to Lampkin (24). He found that black teenagers were much more willing to try things they had seen on television than were Chicanos, Asians or Anglos.

The amount of time spent watching television is remarkably consistent across the studies, despite differences in methodology for three studies but not a fourth. Dordick and Valenzuela (10), Eiselein (11) and Mackay (29) report between 3.2 hours and 3.9 hours per day watching television. An Arbitron study found it much higher at 5.9 hours per day but slightly less than what was found for a comparable Anglo audience, 6.1 hours per day (37).

We know that there are large amounts of both Spanish- and English-language television programming in the United States. There also appear to be differences in media consumption according to the language of the individual or the language spoken in the home, which may be the same. How big is the difference between English and Spanish television viewing among Latinos? Does the entire population consume both types, or is there a preference for one or the other? Finally are the audiences mutually exclusive, or is there any overlap?

Generally the studies showed that when asked to make a choice between Spanish and English television, slightly more Latinos choose Spanish (37, 6, 10, 11, 28). Depending on the time of day, between one-third and two-thirds of the Latinos prefer to watch Spanish-language television. Bundy (6) and Eiselein (11) found that about a third of the Latinos surveyed preferred Spanish television, about a third preferred English television and about a third watched both. Eiselein's study showed that this corresponded very closely with the language of the interview, which, in turn, was closely correlated with the dominant language in the home. López and Enos (28) agree with Eiselein that the language in the home determines television viewing preferences. If Spanish is spoken in the home, Spanish television stations are watched. If English is spoken in the home, television viewing preferences are the same as for the general population. If both languages are used equally, then television in both languages is consumed. López further adds that 45 percent of all Latino households in his sample watched Spanish-language television exclusively or frequently. A Pulse study (37) of prime-time viewing was the only one to report Latino preference for Spanish-language television to be as high as two-thirds of their sample.

Several facts should be kept in mind

concerning these results. First, the U.S. Census estimates that 78 percent of all Latinos are bilingual and 22 percent monolingual in English. Secondly, until recently, Spanish-language television was available only in certain cities for up to 72 percent of the nation's Latino population. With the increase in satellite-receiving repeater stations, Spanish-language television has become available to over 95 percent of U.S. Latinos over the last couple of years. Additionally, whereas SIN programming was once limited to afternoons, evenings and weekends, it has been steadily increasing its broadcast hours up to approximately 90 hours per week. Finally, except for two or three areas, there is almost always only one Spanish-language television outlet, a SIN station, compared with four English-language networks and other independent outlets. The results reported here for Spanish versus English preferences are from studies done before recent increases in Spanish stations and programming. Very likely future studies will show increased preference for Spanish television programming. One point even more obvious with radio listening preferences is that throughout these studies, the single Spanish television outlet or the few radio outlets are able to garner a substantial portion of the Latino audience in any given market.

Results from the Eiselein study (11), a Nielsen study (37) and two Mackay studies (29) suggest that socio-economic status may influence the amount of television viewing as well as the language in which it is viewed. As mentioned earlier, Mackay studied two Latino samples, one from a countywide area with a large Latino population but not dominated by it, and another from an identifiable Latino barrio. The latter is expected to have Latinos of lower incomes, less educated, more Spanish speaking and generally less acculturated. Mackay's results showed that the county sample, expected to be more acculturated and of a higher socio-economic status, watched more television than the sample from the identifiable barrio, and even more than the overall county population, comprised mostly of nonminorities. Eiselein also collected data on two samples—one of Latinos listed in the telephone book regardless of where they lived and another of Latinos living in identifiable barrios. The first was surveyed by telephone, the latter in the field. The results showed that the Latinos dominant in Spanish watched less television than those dominant in English (presumably, the more acculturated and higher educated). The Nielsen study (37) showed that Cubans in Miami, generally considered at a higher socio-economic level than other Latino subpopulations, watched even more television than the overall population for that city. Apparently the higher the socio-economic status, and perhaps the level of acculturation, the higher the amount of television consumption. However, it is not clear whether or not this is because only more English language television alone is consumed or because both Spanish and English are consumed, resulting in greater overall television use. Eiselein does point out that when Spanish-language television is available, the total viewing time for Latino audiences increases. Rosenthall reached the same conclusion.

The conclusion supported by several researchers is that the Spanish-language television and/or radio audience member is over 30 years of age, has a lower income and educational level, is predominantly Spanish speaking, is most likely foreign-born and is a long-established resident. The English-language media consumer is more likely born in the United States, has higher levels of education and income, is dominant in English, and is generally under 30 years of age. However, López and Enos (28) point out that the latter type is not as sharply defined as the Spanish media consumer. Brennan

(5) makes almost identical statements. Bundy's study well documents the argument concerning age (6).

Given the differences mentioned for Spanish versus English television consumption, the studies showed that Latino television preferences were remarkably similar to those of the overall population if they were predominantly English speaking. The one outstanding and surprising finding is that every study that reported favorite television channels or programming—eight in all—found that the favorite English television content was on ABC. This was reported in studies as far back as 1968 and as recently as 1978. There were no clear-cut preferences for more types of entertainment programs except in the Eiselein study (11). He found that respondents wanted more Mexican or Spanish television programs. The respondents made this known repeatedly through a variety of research items. Several studies reported non-entertainment, i.e., news, programs as very strongly desired. There appears to be a strong desire for local news in particular, with some studies such as Eiselein's (11), Valenzuela's (51) and Dordick and Valenzuela's (10) making this point clear. Sex differences were not very dramatic overall. There was a tendency for women to be heavier media consumers of both television and radio, although the radio statistics were less clear. Teens also were heavy consumers of English-language media, in particular television and radio. Their favorite radio programming was black radio (24) and rock (11). Overall radio media behavior by Latinos was similar to what has already been stated for television, except that radio was consumed slightly less than it was by the general population, and television was consumed slightly more. The same comparisons with other minority groups reported for television held for radio. Radio listeners, however, indicated that the primary reason they listened was for the music. Television viewers simply said they viewed for entertainment (10, 11).

Conclusion

The literature reviewed here indicates that media behavior is definitely influenced by language dominance, age, socioeconomic status, and to a lesser extent by sex. For the most part, specific programming preferences were investigated, with the Eiselein and Valenzuela studies excepted; these should be referenced for more detailed analysis of preferences. It is clear, however, that more Spanish programming and more local news coverage is desired by the Latinos surveyed in these studies. Noting the composition of programming available on the English media and on the Spanish media and comparing it to the types of viewers each attracts, it would seem that the least-served audiences are English and bilingual, high socio-economic status Latinos and Spanish-language-dominant children. Except for one or two programs on Spanish television, there are no children's programs exclusively in Spanish. Adult programs on either Spanish- or English-language television are not produced for U.S. Latino audiences. They are produced with other audiences in mind and are watched because there is nothing more targeted available.

Given the history of Latino criticisms of the broadcast media, it is clear that current media practices do not satisfy Latinos and do not contribute to better relations between Latinos and the dominant society. Programming about Latinos that continues to be produced or dominated by non-Latino preferences cheats American audiences of the opportunity for better understanding of U.S. Latinos, as well as Central and South Americans. The last decade has raised the consciousness of the broadcast industry. Still, there is little support for programs produced

by Latinos, specifically targeted toward Latino audiences and/or concerned with issues and points of view important to Latinos.

The research data reported in this paper give us an idea of Latino audiences at only the most basic level. Much more replication of studies on a systematic and national level is needed. We really do not know very much about the differences in television viewing among the several major subgroups of Latinos—the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. We do not know how attractive, beneficial programming in English or Spanish would be to those Latinos dominant in the opposite language. We do not know what beneficial programming is. What are the communication needs of Latinos?

We do know something about the social problems experienced by Latinos. We know from experience and from research what "works" in a creative sense. What we are faced with is this question: What works for Latino audiences? The question involves not only probing the media interests of Latinos, but also venturing into the creative imagination of the Latino mind and having a clear understanding and unfailing appreciation of the Latino experience in the U.S. We cannot begin to produce programs targeted for Latino audiences, attractive and beneficial to those audiences, if we are not familiar with the reality of their existence, their hopes and their dreams. How is this researched?

How were the programs already on public television and not targeted for Latinos researched? Were they researched? And if not researched before funding and production approval, how did the decision makers know they would work? I suspect that for many of public television's finest programs, the decisions to fund and produce them were based more on someone's feeling that "it's a really good idea and would make a great program." If our goal is to improve both the quality and quantity of service to minorities, then shouldn't minorities be allowed to make their decisions in the same way that the decisions for non-minority programs are made? Research is necessary to understand how successful our efforts are. But let us not delay television productions waiting for the research to come and show us the direction. We cannot expect talented and creative minority people to offer their best work and then ask them to produce the research proving that it is good.

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Changing Research Approaches and Applications

The following two papers deal with the application of specific research approaches to learning about audiences.

The first, by Eiselein, discusses the use of anthropological philosophies and approaches in building a research relationship between broadcasters and the communities they serve, thus producing audience data different in tone and intent from most studies.

The second, by Signorielli, discusses the technique of content analysis and how it can be improved and made more meaningful for research on minority audience needs.

Anthropological Approaches to Research on Minority Audiences

E. B. Eiselein

First, a word about applied anthropology: Unlike academic disciplines, the primary goal of applied anthropology is change. It is a tool used in projects designed to cause social, economic, technological, cultural and psychological change. Applied anthropologists are in the business of changing people's lives.

Applied anthropologists—and researchers—prefer not to study their target communities from a distance, like scientists peering at specimens through a microscope. Rather, the methods of anthropology call for a total immersion in the systems studied. This introduces a personal element and often an emotional involvement in research design and interpretation. From this perspective, poetry may become as important as statistics, and the "scientific method" may be eschewed as not being cross-culturally relevant. With its emphasis on change, applied anthropology is more an art than a science.

More than a decade of experience at KUAT-TV/AM-FM has shown that applied anthropology is useful in public broadcasting. Originally, KUAT turned to applied anthropology because its management realized and admitted that it did not know how to reach the Mexican-American community. With funding from the Ford Foundation, the station launched *FIESTA*, an action-oriented research/production project that involved a television series targeted for the Mexican-American community (17). *FIESTA* was successful, and the research/production model developed to help the station reach a Mexican-American audience was applied to other problems, including non-minority communities.

A Basic Model

The basic model of applied anthropology adapted to minority broadcasting is shown in Figure B. This model involves the community (or target community), the media (or medium for projects using only a single medium) and the production and distribution systems (the station, network and/or organization involved with the project). Other descriptions of this model may be found in Marshall *et al.* (17) and in Foster (13).

Community: The community is the starting point for understanding the model. The community is a collection of people who are socially bound together in some fashion: by common residential area, by a common language, by a com-

mon culture, ethnic heritage and worldview or by common interests. In most instances, communities will be held together by several of these elements.

I make a distinction between "audience" and "community." While the two terms may appear to be interchangeable, I feel there is a subtle and important difference between the two concepts. An audience is a part of a community—the part of the community that interacts with the media. Not all members of the community, however, are a part of the audience. Emphasis on "audience" places primary concern on media and on the station or network. It views people from the perspective of the broadcaster and thus tends to miss many nuances and realities of the community, particularly if the community is a minority community.

The function of research on the community is the ability to perceive the community from the "inside" rather than from the "outside." In discussing the *FIESTA* project, Wes Marshall (17) points out:

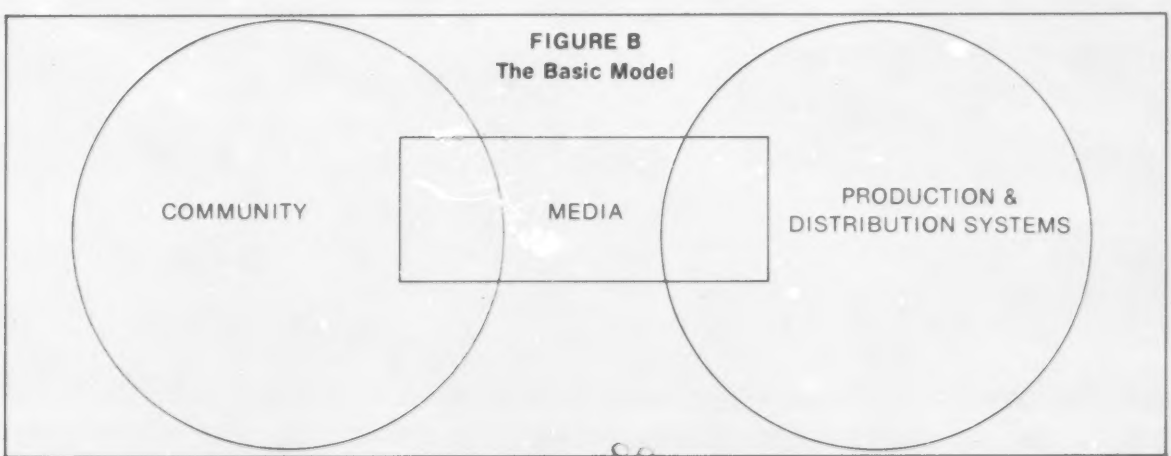
> While the psychologist and sociologist tend to stand back and observe the actions of a social or ethnic group, the anthropologist frequently becomes involved with the population and looks at it from within. This distinction played a vital role in the success of *FIESTA*.

This "inside" view of the community is an important element in planning for and evaluating media-introduced change. For example, it is not uncommon for planners and broadcasters to want to bring changes in a minority community that are totally infeasible from the perspective of the people in the community. The "inside" view helps us to evaluate the feasibility of proposed changes and to determine what changes people in the community would like.

Media: In order to understand the audience or potential audience of any minority program, it is necessary to examine not only the community, but also the media to which the community is exposed. This examination is a form of content analysis, but unlike traditional content analysis, content is analyzed from the perspective of the community.

We see the world—including the worlds of radio and television—through our culture. Thus language, ethnicity, worldview and other cultural elements help us define certain categories, certain boxes into which we place experiences (cf. 16, 20). Traditional content analysis is based upon categories that have been defined according to nonminority culture. Regardless of the pleas of scientific method and objectivity, these categories are not necessarily relevant to minority cultures.

FIGURE B
The Basic Model



Traditional content analysis does not usually yield information about the media that is related to the life experience of minority peoples. We can count the appearance of minority characters on television, for example, and still be blind to aspects of television that may be more closely related to other cultures.

Let me give a brief example of the cultural elements in content analysis. As a part of the *FIESTA* developmental research, we documented television programs Mexican Americans felt to be their "favorite" programs. With some of the programs, it was obvious that the "Mexicanness" of the content was directly related to their popularity among Mexican Americans. On the other hand, some of the popular programs appeared to have no "Mexicanness." Our content analysis at this stage was looking for "Mexicanness" in terms of identifiable Mexican (and Mexican American) characters and the use of Spanish or Pocho (Mexican-American slang). These elements were missing in several of the popular programs.

One of the Mexican-American research assistants on the project did his own content analysis. Instead of looking for the presence of Mexican characters, he looked for Mexican and Mexican-American cultural characteristics in the Anglo characters. His content analysis found that the popular programs had Anglo characters who projected many Mexican cultural characteristics. In other words, our initial content analysis, based on Anglo categories, failed to see relevant items. It was blind to the cultural nuances that the Mexican-American audience readily perceived.

Station: The final element in our model is the production and distribution system. Since most of my work has been with a station, I will refer to this system as the station. But I would like to stress that the applied anthropology model is not limited to use by stations. It can be used by other production and distribution systems, including networks and consortia.

It is important for researchers to understand the social systems and languages of broadcasting, particularly if our research is to be incorporated into the production and broadcasting of minority programs. There are two aspects of this importance: First, we need to know what kinds of information are important in the decision-making process of producing or broadcasting a radio or television program. Knowing the kinds of information that are important to broadcasters, researchers can begin to formulate questions for community research that yield useful data in the context of the station. Applied research has its primary emphasis on this kind of data, rather than on the construction of theories of communication.

In order for the data to be used, it must be communicated to the broadcasters. This is the second aspect of importance concerning the station. The researchers must be able to use both the language and the social structure of the station for maximum impact of the research. The utility of knowing the language should be obvious. A research report written in social science and illustrated with statistically significant and insignificant tables may go unread and unused by the broadcaster, even if that broadcaster has had some social science training. On the other hand, even a research report written in broadcasting language may have little impact if it is not integrated into the social system of the station.

Knowing the social structure of the station involves people (and the roles they play within the social structure) and mechanisms. For effective use of the research, it is important to know to whom the information should be communicated. Should research findings, for example, be

communicated to the station manager, and then from the manager to the rest of the staff, or should they be communicated directly from research to all of the staff? How should the findings be communicated—through formal research reports, memos, existing staff meetings, special staff meetings, in-service training sessions? Applied research must begin to address these questions from the beginning of any research/production project.

As an aside, I would like to point out that a failure to grasp fully the language and social structure of the station not only poses a barrier to the effective use of research, but it also poses a major barrier to women and minorities within the station. The language and social system of the station are largely derived from male Anglo culture. Thus, people for whom male Anglo culture is alien may find themselves ineffective within the system (6, 14).

This paper began by stating that the goal of applied anthropology is change. Given the basic model described above, I would now like to make some observations concerning the nature of this change.

First, it is the goal of applied anthropology to maneuver the three elements of the basic model—the community, the media and the station—to maximize change. We need to ask: Who is being changed? From a colonialistic perspective, the answer would be obvious: the community. Hence we would engage in broadcast projects that would seek to bring about changes in the target community, changes that often would have the impact of encouraging minority communities to accept majority cultural values and practices.

The close involvement of anthropological research with the community brings another perspective about change. From the community perspective, the process of change in any action project should involve all three elements, the station, the media and the community. Furthermore, the need for change and the directions it should take should not be defined totally from the majority society, but must involve a consideration of the community perspective.

Developmental Research

The first step in any research/production project is developmental or formative research. This stage of the research process generally has the following types of objectives:

- To stimulate ideas for program development. Research can be an integral part of the creative process of producing radio and television programs; it can be a way of expanding the producers' senses and increasing awareness.
- To define and redefine target audiences, particularly with respect to their communities. It can help broadcasters focus on those areas of the community in which their programs can realistically bring about change.
- To provide suggestions for format, scheduling, promotion, advertising and other elements.
- To determine problems that can be addressed through the programs. This is an expansion of the legal ascertainment process.

The process of developmental research can be seen as a very simple communications model (see Figure C; cf. 5). In this model, the community acts as a sender, transmitting messages to the station via research. The station is therefore the communications receiver and reacts to these messages through its programming. The station's programs, as seen by the community, become the feedback loop. If a station's programming changes to serve the community better, the community

(as the sender in the communications model) can conclude that its message has been received, and the nature of the programming will provide feedback as to how well the message has been received.

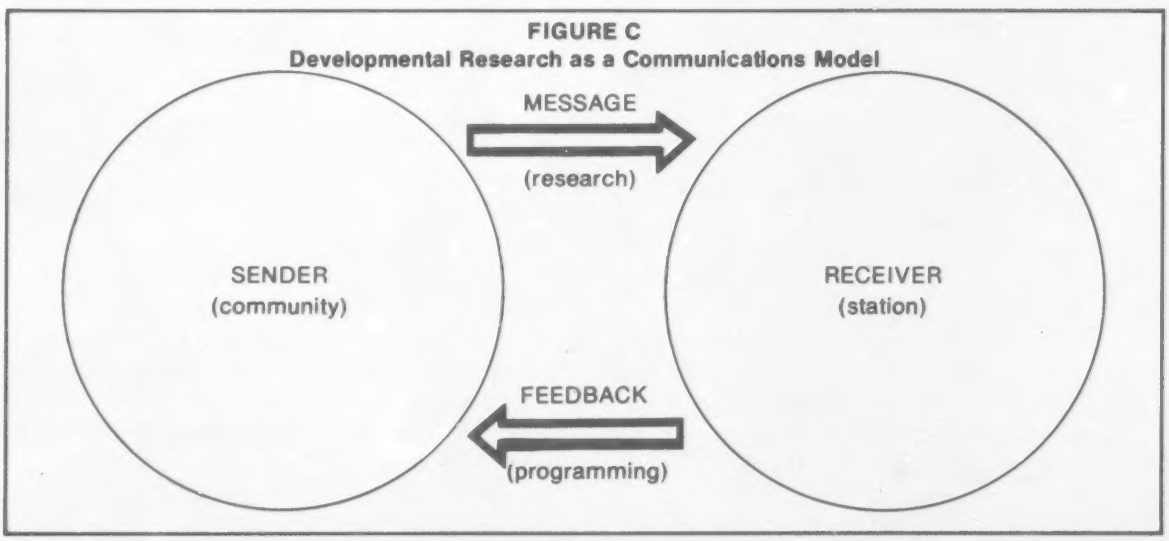
As implied in the model shown in Figure C, developmental research is community-centered rather than station-centered. The emphasis during this type of research is on communication *from* the community *to* the station. In contrast to this model, the ratings research of commercial broadcasting is station-centered and is based upon a model in which the station is the sender; the community is the receiver. Broadcasters who are used to this station-centered concept of research sometimes have difficulty understanding the need for ascertainment and other forms of developmental research.

Given the models described and the goals of developmental research, I have elsewhere suggested four basic guidelines for the successful use of research in the development of radio and television programs (6):

- Production should set the research agenda. In other words, research is a production tool. Keith Mielke (18) puts it this way: "The producers should specify what it is they need to know, and the researchers, if they can, should provide relevant data on those issues."
- There should be ongoing education between research and production. Research should be teaching the producers about the community, and the producers should be teaching researchers about the kinds of information needed to put together a program.
- Research should be in-house. Researchers should work in the same environment as the producers. This is one logical consequence of the first two items above.
- Communication from the researchers should be ongoing and free from social science jargon. It is necessary for the researchers to "speak" broadcasting as well as to communicate their findings both on the face-to-face level and through formal research reports.

One assumption underlying all of these guidelines is that the research is community-centered and people-oriented rather than station-centered and statistically-oriented.

FIGURE C
Developmental Research as a Communications Model



Feedback Research

After the community has communicated to the station, and the station has responded to this communication by producing some programs, the next task of research is to provide some feedback about the programs to the station. During this type of research, the focus shifts to an audience orientation, but for minority audiences in particular, it is important not to lose the community perspective. In those instances where minority audience patterns differ significantly from those of nonminority audiences, the community perspective (and particularly a cultural perspective) is the key to understanding *why* this occurs.

One task of feedback research is to provide data on the audience—who watches, how many and so on. With minority audiences it becomes particularly important that the audience data include both qualitative and quantitative information. If the station staff is predominantly nonminority, then descriptive materials in addition to statistics may help them better understand their minority audiences.

In addition to data on the audience, research at this stage also would generate community information—awareness of the program, expectations about the program and so on. This can provide some insights as to why people don't watch or don't listen. People have certain expectations about what they will find when they tune into a certain station or program. These expectations are a result of past experience with the station or program, past experiences of their own as well as the past experiences of friends. A negative experience—and a station whose programming is insensitive to or ignores a minority group would be a negative experience—may create barriers that hinder viewing and listening. The experiences of Mexican Americans with public television in southern Arizona, for example, have led them to feel that public television broadcasts primarily children's programs and British programs (8, 11, 12). Consequently, they tend not to watch the station, even when the station is targeting programs for them. Not watching a program, in other words, is not necessarily a function of the program itself, but may be a factor related to the interrelationship of the station and the community.

Evaluative Research

Ultimately we must ask: Was the program successful? Here the research must provide some way of determining success and failure. For most projects, evaluative research involves measurement based on the goals and criteria established during the developmental research. For minority programs, however, this may not be a simple task.

Whose goals and criteria are used to judge whether or not a program is successful? In most cases, evaluation is based upon station standards, and station standards are largely nonminority standards. In approaching evaluation through applied anthropology, we examine goals and criteria from a community perspective, as well as the station perspective. A program that is successful from a station perspective, often described in terms of audience size, may be a failure in terms of community concerns, needs and expectations.

I also would like to caution against too much emphasis on measurement as the basis of evaluating minority projects. Anglo culture seems obsessed at times with scientific method, statistics and measurement. While these concepts are valid in the context of their own culture, if we are to evaluate minority programs within the context of minority cultures, we may find less emphasis on measurement and quantification. From the per-

spective of the community, evaluation *must* be culturally relevant to the community.

Methods

I have presented applied anthropology approaches to minority broadcasting without delving into the actual methods used in these approaches. Applied anthropology is not a method, but an approach to problem solving that uses a variety of methods drawn from many disciplines and from the communities. We might think of this as a "multi-instrument" approach or as simply an "open-minded" approach in which we try to recognize the limitations, and particularly limitations of cultural bias, of each individual method.

It would take a large book to discuss all of the possible research methods for minority broadcasting. I would, however, like to note some of the more common methods and their limitations and advantages with regard to minority communities. As an applied anthropologist, the concept of "method" refers to more than just techniques of data collection and includes procedures for communicating information to the station staff.

Surveys: In many instances surveys are an unavoidable instrument for gathering data about minority communities. While they do not work for all communities—Indian reservations, for example—they can generate useful information, provided that care is taken to ensure their relevance for the community.

The first cross-cultural problem one encounters in surveying minority communities is sampling. At times this is a reflection of the problems of defining the universe from which the sample is to be selected. Take, for example, the problems of surveying an urban Mexican-American community. If we sample from a telephone directory, we find that our universe excludes (a) Mexican Americans who do not have telephones, generally believed to be lower-income families; (b) Mexican Americans who do not have listed telephones, generally believed to be lower- and higher-income families; and (c) Mexican Americans with non-Spanish surnames, who constitute more than ten percent of the population. On the other hand, if we sample according to residential patterns—that is, if we focus on the *barrios*—we omit approximately half of the population, which lives outside of the barrios and is often felt to be more Anglicized and with a higher income level. This is not to say these sampling problems invalidate the surveys, but rather that the researchers must be aware that the sampling techniques have redefined the community.

One solution to the sampling problem is to do multiple surveys. In *FIESTA* and in the *TELETEMAS* research, we utilized both telephone and barrio surveys and compared the findings (cf. 4, 7, 17). The multiple survey approach yielded a more complete picture than any single survey approach.

A second problem of doing surveys centers on language. It is customary among some researchers, when faced with the problems of surveying a non-English speaking group, to write the questionnaire in English, translate it into the language of the people, then have it translated back into English to check for accuracy. This technique is based upon the absurd assumption that language is simply a collection of words.

Language, as a part of culture, is an expression of logic, of thinking and of worldview. Noted linguist Edward Sapir (19) observed:

> Language is not merely a more or less systematic inventory of the various items of experience which seem relevant to the individual, as is too often naively assumed, but is also a self-contained, creative symbolic organization, which not

> only refers to experience largely acquired without its help but actually defines experience for us by reason of its formal completeness and because of our unconscious projection of its implicit expectations into the field of experience.

In a similar vein, anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn (15) wrote:

> Any language is more than an instrument for conveying ideas, more even than an instrument for working upon the feelings of others for self-expression. Every language is also a means of categorizing experiences.

He went on to point out:

> The lack of true equivalences between any two languages is merely the outward expression of inward differences between two peoples in premises, in basic categories, in the training of fundamental sensitivities and in general view of the world (15).

Ideally questionnaires must be written originally in the language of the people being studied. This is particularly true of non-English speaking minorities such as Mexican Americans, American Indians and other ethnic groups. The implication of this is very simple: Researchers working among non-English speaking minorities must be able to speak and understand the language of the people. In many instances this may mean that minority researchers are required for any meaningful study of minority communities.

Survey questionnaires are, of course, administered by interviewers, and this is another critical area for minority research. Not only should the questionnaire be written in the language of the community, but the people who administer this questionnaire must be able to speak and understand both the language and the culture of the community. This implies that interviewers should be native speakers from the community.

In addition to language, there may be some other significant cultural factors that have an impact on the interviewing process. One of these is the "yes is better than no" phenomenon. Among some peoples, Papago Indians for example, it is considered polite to give a positive response to questions asked by strangers even if the response is not correct. Thus respondents may indicate that they have watched a program or that they have liked a program, when in fact, the opposite is true. I have no rules for circumventing this problem. In our experience, the "yes is better than no" problem is greater in telephone surveys than in field surveys, and it is greater in highly structured interview situations than in loosely structured interview situations.

In field surveys, the appearance of the interviewers can be important. Among some cultures, the appearance of a person carrying a clipboard signifies a government official (or worse yet, an anthropologist), and this may cause both distrust and great "yes is better than no" problems. In some communities, strangers wearing ties may be associated with religious groups seeking converts, and this may lower the cooperation rate.

Participant observation: Traditionally, anthropologists have lived in the societies they have studied. The backbone of the anthropological approach to the study of people has been to observe behavior in the community while participating in the daily life of the community. While participant observation was used initially on smaller, primitive societies, urban and industrial anthropologists have found that the method works well in studying urban communities, including minority communities, and in studying industrial structures such as television and radio stations.

What participant observation yields is a perspective. It is a way of looking at the

community from the inside; this perspective is a *community* perspective. This includes an understanding of the language, the culture, the social system, the structure of leadership and the countervailing forces—social, moral, psychic, historic—that permeate the community. From the applied anthropology approach to minorities, participant observation lays the foundation for all other research instruments.

As a tool in minority broadcasting, participant observation should not be restricted to the minority community, but should also include the study of the station. In fact, participant observation is the major research instrument that can be used in this area. From an applied approach, understanding the language, culture, social system and values of the station as a social entity is just as important as understanding the minority community.

Groups: The use of *ad hoc* groups for brainstorming, rap sessions and audition or viewing panels can be very useful. Sessions, particularly when held on minority turf rather than station turf, can provide a type of immersion into the community that still allows some structured data collection.

Brainstorming groups are the most structured of the groups. In brainstorming, the participants generate ideas or responses to predetermined questions over a fairly short period of time (usually 15 to 20 minutes). At the end of this time, they are asked to "vote" by listing what each of them feels to be the three or four (this number varies according to the culture of the group) most important ideas or responses. The group then moves on to the next question. Usually a brainstorming session will cover from three to five questions.

Brainstorming also offers the advantage of being flexible in terms of the number of participants. Since the group is divided into small work groups of four to eight participants (and usually one staff person), it is possible to do brainstorming with as many as 100 people, depending on the size of the facility being used.

Brainstorming does provide some quantifiable data from the "votes" cast by the participants. The real value of the sessions, however, comes from the ideas generated during the actual brainstorming, ideas that do not need to be communicated through research reports to the staff since staff members are participants.

Rap sessions are unstructured groups with no more than a dozen participants. The agenda for discussion is set during the informal group process. Rap sessions work well at the developmental stage of research and help define community-oriented research perspectives.

Audition or viewing sessions are audience response instruments that can range from highly structured to relatively unstructured. In groups of this type, the participants are shown materials that have aired or might air, and are asked for their comments. These sessions may include questionnaires and a formal question structure for guiding group discussion, or the session may resemble rap sessions with an audition or viewing component. Discussion of materials also can be structured in a brainstorming fashion.

One of the biggest advantages of groups in the experience at KUAT is that they allow nonresearch staff from the station to come face-to-face with minority peoples. There are a number of outcomes of nonresearch staff involvement in group sessions:

- Staff members report that they come away from the sessions with new ideas and new perspective.
- Formal research reports, such as the findings of a survey, become more useful to the staff since they now have a personal experiential framework in which to

interpret statistical data.

■ Community members also find themselves coming up with ideas after the session and contacting staff members with these ideas.

In terms of academic research, the groups do not usually yield highly scientific research reports. But from the applied approach, groups work fairly well in changing the station and consequently its service to the community.

Ascertainment: One of the basic steps in developmental research is the determination of problems and concerns as perceived by the community itself. We originally began ascertainment in the Mexican-American community because it made a great deal of sense. Later, as ascertainment became a legal requirement (and hence a dirty word for many broadcasters), we simply extended the procedures that we had developed for the Mexican-American community to include all communities in our area.

We approach ascertainment of minority communities on three different levels. One level is through the community leaders. The first problem with which research must deal at this level is the definition of leadership and a determination of the power structures of the community. In developing a list of leaders for possible ascertainment contact, I inject a note of caution: leaders according to *whom*? KUAT, as a member of the Tucson Broadcasters Association, participates in the association's leader ascertainment sessions. In these sessions, leaders (including minority leaders) are selected by broadcast managers (predominantly Anglo, male, middle-aged and business-oriented). The minority leaders selected for these sessions are often not the people who are seen as leaders from the perspective of the community. Care must be taken to ensure that the people chosen are viewed as leaders by the *minority* community.

Another caution in determining leadership: Remember that minority communities are complex. In most communities there is no single, monolithic power structure. There are several countervailing structures that are ever-changing. Each community contains different viewpoints, different opinions and factions who will insist that they are the dominant viewpoint for the community. Recognizing this, we try to make our approach to leadership as *inclusive* as possible, rather than *exclusive*.

Leaders can be contacted in many ways. If the purpose of contacting minority leaders is to go beyond the minimal FCC requirements and to use these contacts as a way of strengthening communication with the minority community, then I would suggest these basic guidelines:

■ Contact should be face-to-face. While the telephone is a convenient research instrument, particularly when coping with the busy schedules of leaders and broadcasters, it is important that minority leaders get to know each other and be able to identify each other visibly. Hence, whenever possible, avoid the use of the telephone for leader contacts.

■ Contact should be with station management. Continued contact by nonmanagement personnel may create the feeling among minority leaders that they are not important to the station's management. Therefore it is critical for management to be involved in the ascertainment process.

The setting for leader contact varies. At times it is a one-on-one situation, at other times a group setting. Sometimes the contact takes place in the station, sometimes in the leader's office, sometimes in other locations. We successfully have used a variety of settings for talking with minority leaders about community problems and concerns:

■ Luncheons—On a regular basis,

four to five community leaders meet with four to five staff members (including management) to discuss the community.

■ *Ad hoc* staff meetings—On occasion we have invited four to five community leaders to meet with our staff (often 10-15 staff members). We run these sessions more formally than the luncheon, giving each leader a few minutes to make an opening statement and then allowing the staff to ask questions.

■ Brainstorming—The brainstorming sessions described above are an effective vehicle for ascertainment. We have used this effectively among a variety of different groups including Mexican Americans, the disabled, women and senior citizens.

■ Radio programs—At times we have had leaders participate in a panel discussion radio program dealing with community problems and concerns. This is a good way of sharing what we are hearing from community leaders with our audience.

The above list is not exhaustive, but simply serves to illustrate some of the ways we have approached leader contacts.

In addition to leader contacts, we also perform the traditional community ascertainment surveys, using both telephone and door-to-door techniques. At times we ask the people to indicate which person or group they feel best represents their interests, and in this way we can provide a check for our leadership list.

We also use groups, primarily through brainstorming, as a form of ascertainment. Sometimes these groups consist only of leaders; sometimes they do not. Always, however, station staff is involved in the brainstorming sessions.

Integration of research into the station: As an applied anthropologist, I am primarily concerned with research as a tool for change. I have relatively little interest in research for its own sake, or for the sake of science or the discipline itself. The integration of research, and particularly minority research, into decision making is sometimes a difficult task. This is one reason that the applied anthropology approach studies the station as well as the community.

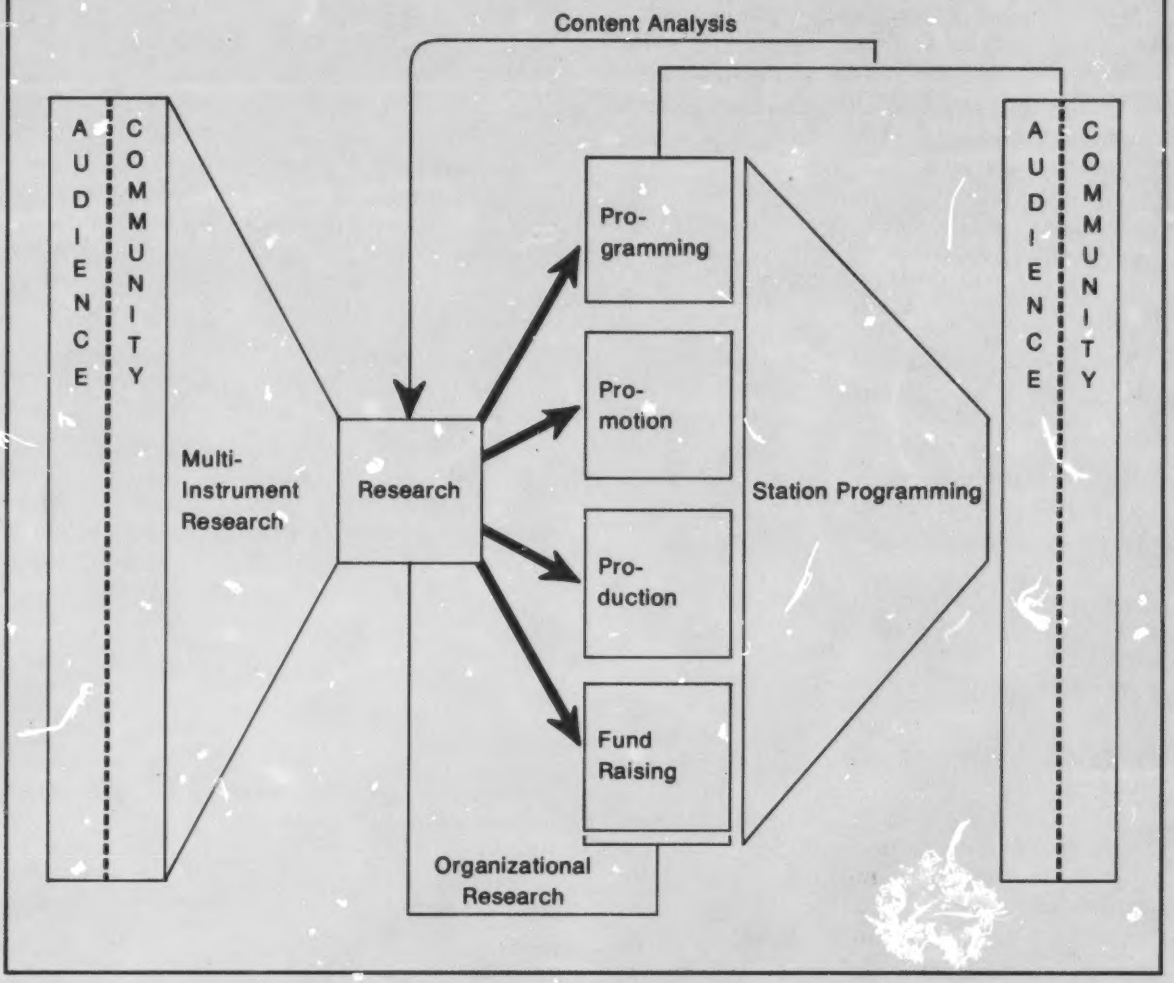
An idealized model of applied research in the station setting is shown in Figure D. This model shows an idealized flow of research from the community (through a multiple instrument methodology), from the station itself (through organizational research) and from the media (through content analysis). Research must communicate these findings to programming, production, promotion, fund raising and other areas of the station.

Perhaps the easiest way of incorporating research into the station is through the team approach. In this approach, the station staff is involved with the research and becomes, in effect, part-time researchers. At the same time, research is involved with the station, and researchers may function as part-time producers. This team approach makes research more meaningful and thus more likely to be used.

Research should be both an advocate and a teacher. One of the functions of research should be to teach the station staff about the community. At the same time, research should also be teaching the community about the station and about its rights in broadcasting. I realize that this last statement may make some broadcasters a little nervous. The ethics of applied anthropology, however, require a commitment to serving the needs and interests of the community being studied as well as the organization paying for the research.

Given the relative lack of minority employees in most stations, research also must function as an advocate of the minority perspective. If no one is advocating the minority perspective, it is rela-

FIGURE D
Integration of Research



tively easy for this perspective to be interpreted through existing stereotypes or to be forgotten completely.

Conclusion

We have thus far touched on many aspects of applied anthropology as a tool in minority broadcasting but have not explored any of these aspects in depth. In conclusion, let me reemphasize three basic points:

- The applied anthropology approach seeks the integration of the minority community, the station and the medium in seeking changes in all three areas. While this approach has been demonstrated primarily on the local level, it can be expanded to regional and national levels.
- The applied anthropology model attempts to generate culturally relevant data, which emphasize the community perspective.
- Much of the emphasis in applied anthropology is on developmental research since this lays the foundation for both production and research that follow.

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Content Analysis: More Than Just Counting Minorities

Nancy Signorielli

Abstract

This paper presents research on minority representation in the world of television and offers a theoretical framework for future research in this area.

Over the past 12 years, studies examining the portrayal of minority groups in television programs have concurred on one important and basic finding: Minority groups, including blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, women and the elderly, usually are underrepresented. Overall, nonmajority racial groups are slightly underrepresented in relation to their numbers in the general U.S. population, while the numbers of women and older people come nowhere near their share of the U.S. population. Moreover, most groups are portrayed in narrow, traditional and/or stereotypical ways. For example, blacks often are found in situation comedies and rarely are presented as "evil" or powerful, while women are usually found when romance, marriage, home and/or family appear.

The thrust of this paper, however, is methodological and focuses upon content analysis, a procedure that serves to uncover the basic characteristics of a message system such as television programming. It presents an analytic framework centered on four basic notions—determining what exists, what is important, what is right and what is related to what—in the phenomenon under investigation. These notions are examined or isolated via four constructs called attention, emphasis, tendency and structure. Measures of attention reveal what content elements are present and how often they appear; emphasis focuses upon the importance or relevance of these content elements; tendency examines whether content elements are presented in a positive or negative fashion; and structure illuminates the relationships that exist among the components of the entire message system.

The paper suggests that this framework should form the backbone of content analysis by incorporating these four measures and constructs in many phases of the research. In particular, these notions should be an integral part of the recording instrument used to generate content data, should guide the statistical analysis of these data and should provide the framework for presenting, discussing and understanding the findings. The paper also briefly discusses other important

aspects of a content analysis design such as unitization, sampling, recording instrument, coder training, recording forms, statistical techniques, reliability and validity.

Finally, the paper notes that content analysis is only the first step in fully examining a phenomenon such as television programming. Research also is needed to provide information about the institutional processes that produce and/or sustain the message system and to examine the contribution of the media to people's conceptions of social reality.

Introduction

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting's symposium, *Minority Audiences and Programming Research: Approaches and Applications*, has raised a large number of issues and questions relating to the design and execution of research about minorities and broadcasting. The symposium has three major goals:

1. documentation of the state of knowledge on minority audiences and their relationship to public and commercial broadcasting;
2. input for the design of a research agenda dealing with minority audience needs and minority-targeted programs; and
3. generation of specific guidelines and decision-making tools for immediate and long-term use by public broadcasting personnel.

This paper focuses on the second of the three symposium goals—the design of a research agenda—and proposes a design to assess and analyze minority representation in the media. It also includes a brief presentation of two additional areas for this research: understanding the institutional processes that lead to the kinds of media content that currently exist, and determining the media's, especially television's, contribution to people's conceptions of minority peoples and minority issues.

Over the past two decades, a major question of mass media research has been how different kinds of people are portrayed in the media. Concern with minority representation as well as concern with violence in television programming arose in the late 1960s, largely as a result of racial disturbances in many of our cities. The Kerner Commission, appointed by President Johnson, investigated these disturbances and in 1968 charged that these racial disturbances could be traced, in part, to the U.S. mass media industry's failure to serve and represent adequately minority interests. In brief, the commission found that the media seemed to encourage racial conflict by presenting black Americans in a negative and limited way and suggested that the industry, and its regulating agencies, give priority to improving coverage related to minority groups (13).

As a result of this mandate, research exploring these issues proliferated. Most of these studies were concerned primarily with determining baseline measures, that is, determining the number of minority characters in the various media. Other studies examined whether the mass media affected minorities differently than whites, or if minorities used mass media differently than the majority. A very large portion of this research has focused on television.

Television is the central and most pervasive mass medium in the American culture, and it has come to play a distinctive and historically unprecedented role. Television is "on" in the average home for over six hours a day, and the "average" person watches about three to four hours each day. Most of this viewing occurs during the evening hours, from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. EST, and consists of "entertainment" programs. Television thus has become a key member of the

family, the one who tells most of the stories most of the time. Its massive flow of stories showing what things are, how things work and what to do about them has become the common socializer of our times. These stories form a coherent, if mystical, "world" in every home. Television dominates the symbolic environment of modern life and provides a "mainstream" view of the world that serves to maintain, stabilize and reinforce—not subvert—conventional values, beliefs and behaviors. Thus, television provides its own view of "reality," a coherent picture of what exists, what is important, how things are related and what is right.

Minorities in TV Drama: A Case of Underrepresentation

Much of the research about minority portrayals on television focuses on what exists and what is important in the world. This research, conducted over the past two decades, has revealed that the television world, especially that of prime-time and weekend-daytime network dramatic programming, is very stable. A basic and consistent finding of this research is that most specific minority groups—blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, women, the elderly, the handicapped, etc.—are underrepresented. Orientals are an exception; they are overrepresented in relation to their numbers in the U.S. population (5).

Overall, while nonmajority racial groups are only slightly underrepresented in relation to their numbers in the general U.S. population, the numbers of women and older people come nowhere near their share of the U.S. population (5). Thus, it appears as though one of the Kerner Commission's charges—that of increasing the numbers of minority peoples on television—has been interpreted in terms of reaching or providing overall parity, that is, having the proportion of minorities in the television world be roughly the same as in reality. Women and the elderly, on the other hand, have had no such support, and as a result, they continue to be grossly underrepresented.

But the question is much more than meeting or providing parity. The television world—including drama, news and public affairs programs, but especially entertainment programs—is a highly controlled, assembly-line product governed by relatively few formulas. Its people do not live or die but are created or destroyed to tell a story. The message of all stories emerges from aggregate patterns of casting, characterization and fate.

Roles are created in direct relation to their usefulness in the world of television drama. The most numerous are those for whom the world of television has more use—more jobs, adventure, sex, power and other opportunities and life chances. These values are distributed as most resources are distributed: according to status and power. Dominant social groups tend to be overrepresented and overendowed not only absolutely, but even in relation to their numbers in the real population. Minorities are defined by having less than their proportionate share of values and resources. In the world of television drama, this means less usefulness and fewer opportunities. Underrepresentation means restricted scope of action, stereotyped roles, diminished life chances and undervaluation ranging from relative neglect to symbolic annihilation.

I do not wish to imply that faithful proportional representation of reality is necessarily fair or just. Artistic and dramatic functions require selection, amplification and invention, all of which may deviate from what the census reports or what independent experience reflects. Reality provides a standard by which the nature and extent of the deviations can be measured. The important

question is not so much whether there are deviations, but rather what kind exist and with what consequences for thinking, action and policy. It is these deviations that we must measure and understand if we are able to effect meaningful change.

Many studies, including two reports by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (22, 23), have revealed the underrepresentation of most minority groups in television programming (5, 8, 17). In fact, in prime-time and weekend-daytime network dramatic programs, only one racial minority, Orientals, has been overrepresented in relation to its numbers in the U.S. population (5).

These studies have revealed that black characters appear younger, leaner, funnier and flashier than white characters. Nonwhite television characters also tend to be poorer, jobless or cast in jobs below the top echelons (1, 16). Moreover, black characters rarely are cast as "bad" or as villains, and in fact, it seems as though television writers go out of their way not to cast nonwhites in negative roles (1, 22). As for marital status, nonwhite men are less likely to be married than their white counterparts, but the opposite holds true for nonwhite women; they are more likely than white women to be married (19).

Hilton *et al.* (10) found that blacks are portrayed equally as industrious, competent and physically attractive as whites, but that black characters are more moral and kind. And in terms of interracial interaction, Lemon (15) found that blacks are likely to dominate white characters when these groups appear together in situation comedies, but that blacks are dominated by whites in crime dramas. Finally, viewers are much more likely to see black characters in situation comedies than in other types of programs; about half of the black characters coded in three annual samples of television programs are found in situation comedies. Moreover, many of these programs have practically all-black casts, while the remainder of the black characters is spread among the rest of the programs in a token-like, almost one-to-a-show, fashion (1).

Ethnic minorities are especially invisible in dramatic television programs. These minorities also are very difficult to isolate. In our ongoing research,* we have found that coders cannot reliably isolate any ethnic groups except Hispanics—Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans, Mexican Americans, etc. Moreover, Hispanics make up an extremely small proportion of the television world population. Gerbner and Signorielli (5) found that in annual samples of network dramatic programs aired between 1969 and 1976, Hispanics made up only 2.9 percent of all prime-time and one percent of all weekend-daytime speaking characters. Similarly, Greenberg and Baptista-Fernandez (9) found only 53 Hispanic characters (1.5 percent of their character population) in samples of television programs aired between 1974 and 1976.

Greenberg and Baptista-Fernandez also found, in the few instances Hispanics did appear, that they were likely to be in the same program; over half of the 53 characters appeared on four shows: *Quest, Joe Forrester, Delvecchio* and *Popi* (short-lived program about an Hispanic family). Moreover, these programs were quite likely to be violent and portrayed the Hispanics (usually Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans) as involved with gangs or barrios. They also found, as did Gerbner and Signorielli (5), that Hispanic women were even more invisible than the men; the male-female ratio was about five to one. Finally, the most common

*Cultural Indicators is an 11-year project that has been examining trends in the content of prime-time and weekend-daytime network dramatic programming and viewer conceptions of social reality since 1967-68 (6).

vocation among these 53 characters was crime-related; a dozen were identifiable as bandits, thieves, junkies, extortionists and other sorts of criminals, while ten were cast as sheriffs, inspectors and patrolmen. Thus, the image of Hispanics on television seems to be very confusing: either they break the law or help maintain it.

Television also portrays other minority groups in a stereotypical or negative fashion. Older people are practically invisible. They comprise only about 2.5 percent of the network dramatic character population, but they make up at least 11 percent of the U.S. population.

Older characters are more likely than younger characters to be portrayed in a negative fashion. Proportionately fewer older characters are "good," and the proportion of "bad" older characters (especially among men) is greater than in the younger age groups. We also find that while the percentage of successful men increases with age, older women are more likely to be unsuccessful than successful. Older women also are more likely to be victimized than to commit violence; the opposite holds for older men (7). Finally, older people, and especially older women, are likely to be treated with disrespect, or to be portrayed as foolish or eccentric (7).

Women especially are likely to be portrayed in very stereotyped and traditional ways. First, one of the most stable findings of this vast body of research, one that has been uncovered year after year, in study after study, is that men outnumber women by three to one in television programming. For each female cast in a television role, three males are similarly cast (2, 5). This holds for major characters and minor characters, commercial and public broadcasting programs.

The underrepresentation of women in public television (12, 21) is especially troublesome. This body of television fare should provide alternative programming and not follow the same patterns that exist in commercial programming.

Differences in the portrayal of men and women in network dramatic programs can be summarized as follows. Women, when they do appear, are usually younger than the men, but they tend to "age" faster. They also are more attractive and nurturing and often are seen in the context of home and family. They are more likely to be married, but if married, usually are not employed. Employed women often are cast in traditionally female occupations: nurses, secretaries, waitresses and sometimes teachers.

Men generally are portrayed as older, but they "age" more slowly. They tend to be more powerful than women, and proportionately fewer are portrayed as married. Significantly, more men are employed, usually in high-prestige and traditionally masculine occupations: doctors, lawyers, policemen and other professional occupations (18).

While there is a considerable amount of information about how various minority groups are presented in television programs, most, but not all, of this research is concerned primarily with determining the basic population parameters of the television world. But full understanding of minority portrayals must go beyond this determination. The rest of this paper will examine research strategies for this endeavor.

Framework for the Study of Mass Media Content

Content analysis is the methodology best suited for studying media portrayals. The technique's intellectual roots go back to the use of symbols and language, but its practical application covers only about half a century (14). Content analysis is a relatively simple procedure that has been defined as "any technique for making inferences by systematically and

objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages." (11)

Content analysis is different from other procedures but it is concerned with determining the characteristics of the message system as a whole. Content analysis should be designed to examine an entire system of messages (or a sample of this system) to reveal the features and relationships expressed in the whole. Content analysis seeks to understand the data it generates, not as a collection of physical events, but as a symbolic phenomenon. In considering television programming, the basic research question is discovering the overall images and notions expressed in programming—not what any particular person may have seen last night or will see in the future. The approach must permit the investigator to abstract and pull together pieces of information to isolate and understand the basic images. The approach must have an overall generalizability and must be designed in a way that is appropriate for the phenomenon under investigation.

As noted above, television provides its own view of "reality": a coherent picture of what exists, what is important, what is right and what is related to what. Thus, any analysis of programming content that strives to uncover the most generalizable, specific and complete image of minority representation must focus on these four notions. These notions can be translated into four constructs called attention, emphasis, tendency and structure (4). The first three—attention, emphasis and tendency—describe and define the entire message system. They assess what elements appear in this system and how they appear. The fourth, structure, is concerned with how these elements are related to each other within this system.

Attention is the easiest and the simplest of these constructs to operationalize. Measures of attention note what is present and how often it appears; that is, attention usually is measured by simple frequency distributions. Attention also is the most often used construct because many researchers are concerned with merely counting how often something appears. In regard to minority representation on television, attention reveals how many blacks, American Indians, Hispanics, whites, older people, women and so on appear in programming samples. These findings are important because they allow the researcher to determine who appears and whether or not there have been any changes in the basic population. But population parameters are only part of the story.

Emphasis goes one step beyond counting. Measures of emphasis focus upon content elements in terms of their importance or relevance—for example, whether something is a minor, significant or major focus of a message system. Emphasis measures reveal which things/elements stand out or are likely to be perceived as the most salient or important in the message system. Aside from degree of attention, emphasis also can be measured by determining how much space and/or time is devoted to a topic, the intensity with which the topic is discussed or the salience of a certain topic compared to others in the system.

The third construct, tendency, is one of the more difficult to operationalize and thus to use because it is integrally related to questions of judgment. Tendency is concerned with discovering and understanding whether or not something is presented in a positive or negative fashion, that is, the implicit or explicit qualities of the phenomenon as presented in the source material. Measures of tendency focus upon whether or not something is presented as good or bad, as right or wrong, as favorable or unfavorable, etc.

Measures of attention, emphasis and tendency provide the basic dimensions of

the phenomenon under investigation. They are interesting and provide useful data and information, but they still do not totally illuminate the phenomenon. The last construct, structure, provides full understanding of the underlying dimensions of the message system, that is, the relationships that exist among the components of the message system, the things that "go together."

These four constructs thus describe the basic framework that should be used to design any content analysis. These measures and constructs must be incorporated into the recording instrument used to generate data. They will guide the statistical analysis of these data and provide the framework for presenting and discussing the findings of the study.

Although the analytic framework is the most important aspect in the design of content analysis, there are several other equally important elements. These include unitization, sampling, the recording instrument, coder training, recording forms, statistical analysis techniques, reliability and validity (14).

Unitization: One of the first decisions to make is how to unitize the particular message system under investigation, that is, to determine the units of analysis. There are many different types of units, for example, a period of time would be every minute or a specific entity, such as a television program, newspaper article, an entire newspaper or a character in a story. Units also can be specific interactions, such as relationships between characters, or specific actions, such as violent or sexually toned incidents within stories or programs.

Two units emerge as the most appropriate for studying minority representation on television: specific television programs and the characters who populate these programs. Since there are many different types of roles, some more important than others, these characters should be divided into two or more groups: the major characters (those who play roles that are essential to the plot) and minor characters (all other speaking characters). If this analysis were extended to commercials, an additional set of characters also must be investigated: those who do not speak but are a part of the commercial.

Sampling: Since it is usually practically impossible to examine an entire message system, the researcher must develop a sampling plan to produce a representative sample of the material under investigation. A frequently used sample for content analysis of television programs has been a "typical" week of programming. My colleagues and I have been concerned about the adequacy of this sample size and have conducted a number of sampling experiments to test its validity. These studies have revealed that while a larger sample may increase precision, given the measures we have developed and use, the one-week sample yields remarkably stable results with high cost efficiency (3, 20). Thus, an adequate sample for a general study of the entire television world is a week of programming. But since the current design is concerned with determining the best way to assess the presentation of rarely appearing minority groups, the one-week sample may be inadequate to examine these portrayals accurately. We are faced, therefore, with a delicate question: how to increase the numbers of minority characters in an analysis while keeping the costs of the study within bounds. Moreover, we must collect similar data for all characters within the selected sample so that minority and majority characters can be compared.

There are several solutions to this sampling dilemma. First, the researcher could use a week-long sample and be extremely cautious in how the results are interpreted and presented. Second, the

researcher could conduct the analysis on a week-long sample and then continue to sample for minority characters until specific quotas of minorities were reached. In this way the researcher could report the basic dimensions of the population using the week-long sample but then delve more deeply into the presentation of minorities. Third, the researcher could conduct the entire analysis on a much larger sample—a month, six weeks or 13 weeks of programming. While the third alternative would be the most accurate, it probably would not be feasible, given the limited funds usually available for such studies.

Recording instrument: The recording instrument is probably the most important element in the design of a content analysis. The recording instrument is central because it contains the variables that generate the data. If the recording instrument misses key areas of portrayal, the analysis will not be exhaustive, and the study may raise more questions than it answers.

The recording instrument is made up of questions about the phenomenon under investigation. These questions usually are closed-ended and have, as response alternatives, a set of exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories. Since the recording instrument must take as many different features as possible into consideration, the researcher must be familiar with the phenomenon under investigation. In the case of minority representation in television programs, the researcher should be aware of cultural differences and develop an instrument that is sensitive to them.

The recording instrument also must be designed to incorporate the analytic framework described above. There should be items of attention (what exists in this world), emphasis (what is important), tendency (what is favorable, unfavorable) and structure (how things are related in this world).

Coder training: Content analysis seeks to determine the basic elements of the phenomenon without any kind of bias. Once the instrument has been developed and pilot-tested, coders must be hired and trained to use it. Training is important because content analysis is a technique that is *not* concerned with individual differences, views and so on. Individual differences in interpretation must be eliminated, and all coders must use the instrument in the same way. In theory, once completely trained, all coders should generate exactly the same data for the same unit of analysis (e.g., television program). Training usually is conducted by having all coders view and code a series of programs that have been previously coded, discussed and dissected by the research staff. The staff and coders then must explore and eliminate differences so everyone is using the instrument, interpreting categories and so on in the same way.

An important rule: Coding decisions must be backed by evidence within the particular unit being analyzed. One goal of training is to make coders sensitive to this rule. The coder must be able to point to evidence in the particular unit of analysis as the basis for each and every coding decision. For example, if a coder knows a character's occupation because he or she is a "fan" of that particular program, and this information is not stated in this particular episode, coders must know that the information cannot be used to code this program.

Recording forms—statistical techniques: Another important area of design and one that is often overlooked is how to develop efficient forms to record the data. These forms should be easy to use and facilitate the transfer of raw data to machine-readable form. Finally, the statistical techniques to analyze the data generated by coders must reflect the

basic analytical framework of the study. The statistical techniques can range from the extremely simple—frequency distributions, two- to *n*-way cross tabulations—to the sophisticated—cluster analysis, factor analysis, contingency analysis. The latter techniques are especially helpful in isolating the underlying structures in the phenomenon.

Reliability and validity: There are two other important issues in designing content analysis: reliability and validity. Reliability assesses the extent to which the data represent variations in phenomena under investigation rather than extraneous circumstances of measurement, hidden idiosyncracies of coders or the surreptitious biases of a procedure. Specifically, reliability measures reveal whether or not coders are using the recording instrument in the same way, that is, generating exactly the same data for the same unit of analysis.

Validity, on the other hand, designates whether or not the research has measured what it set out to measure, that is, assessed and/or described the phenomenon under investigation. A content analysis can be considered as valid "to the extent its inferences are upheld in the face of independently obtained evidence" (14, p. 155).

The reliability of data usually is tested by having some portion of the units of analysis recorded independently by different coders and generating measures of association on the resultant data. If the procedure is reliable, we should get the same results for the same phenomenon from different coders. (See Krippendorff (14) for a full description of reliability and measures of association.) The testing of validity is somewhat more difficult because the results of a procedure must be compared with what is known to be "true" or assumed to be already valid, which is often very difficult to isolate.

A content analysis designed and executed using the design elements presented above will go a long way toward providing useful and important information about minority representation in television programming. But this information will tell only part of the story.

Institutional and Cultivation Analysis

Two other areas must be examined to fully understand, and ultimately improve, minority representation: the institutions that provide and maintain these images; and the notions about minority groups that are cultivated by these images, that is, how these images relate to people's generalized and specific conceptions of minority peoples.

Truly affecting change in minority media portrayals can come about only by understanding the institutions that produce and maintain these images. Change can come only through those who have the power to make and sustain the changes. Writers can develop new and enlightened material, but unless the producers buy and produce those stories, they will be meaningless. And while public broadcasting is not under the same pressure to produce audiences, public television nevertheless should have programs that attract and maintain viewers. While the public broadcasting mandate is not to appeal to the masses, clearly the programming should appeal to as many as possible. Moreover, the appeal of public and commercial programs should not be measured in the same way or with the same criteria.

Finally, the research also must focus upon how these media images affect viewers' conceptions of the world—in this case, how minority images affect people's conceptions of minorities and the problems facing minorities in our society.

Institutional analyses can tell us only about why we have certain images. Content analysis can tell us only about the

nature of these images. It provides simple counts as well as more sophisticated pictures of representation. And content analysis also can tell us what people are able to learn about minority groups and other aspects of life relating to these and other issues. But we also must conduct "effects" research to determine if indeed these media images are as powerful or important as we hypothesize they are.

The design of this research is important, and it must be more than a one-shot experimental design. Experiments are not sufficient for the full examination of television effects because people are not exposed to single images, nor do experiments come close to replicating the way people watch television. With television, people are exposed to any number of images over time, and it is the *overall* picture that is the most important. Moreover, it is the general stability of these patterns, rather than any specific change in them, that is the principal contribution of media to ideas and behavior. Thus the major contribution of television is the cultivation of common perspectives rather than achievement of specific or preconceived goals, impacts or effects.

In brief, the investigation of television's contribution to viewers' conceptions of social reality relating to minorities should begin with systematic analysis of the world of television. Content analysis findings will reveal how minorities and minority issues are presented in television programming. The research then must turn to questions such as, "How are these images reflected in the assumptions and values held by audiences?" or "How are the 'lessons' of symbolic behavior presented in fictional forms applied to conceptions about real life?"

The basic hypothesis underlying cultivation analysis is that heavier viewers of television those more exposed to its messages than lighter viewers, are more likely to understand social reality in terms of the "facts of life" they see on television. To investigate this hypothesis and its correlates, we should design a series of questions about social reality relating to minorities. In these questions we would juxtapose findings from the content analysis with the findings of independent and/or direct observations, such as U.S. Census figures. These questions would be used to ask people about their perceptions of these facts. To the extent that patterns of life presented in dramatic television programming cultivate distinct conceptions of social reality, heavy viewers are expected to be more likely than light viewers to choose answers that reflect television perspectives.

In addition, our ongoing research has revealed two theoretical refinements, "mainstreaming" and "resonance," that should be explored in regard to the cultivation of images about minorities. "Mainstreaming" implies that there may be a convergence of outlooks among the heavy viewers in "otherwise" disparate and heterogeneous groups. Thus, differences deriving from other factors may tend to be reduced or even eliminated among heavy viewers. "Resonance," on the other hand, occurs when a given feature of the television world is most congruent with the real-life circumstances of the viewer. These are instances where specific issues have particular salience to people's everyday reality (or even perceived reality), and the combination "resonates" and amplifies cultivation. (See Gerbner *et al.* (6) for a full description of cultivation analysis and these refinements.)

Naturally, factors other than television viewing may account for some of these differences. Since heavy television viewing is part of a complex syndrome that also includes lower education, lower mobility, lower aspirations, higher anxieties and other class-, age- and sex-related characteristics, analyses must be

designed with statistical controls for these and other demographic and descriptive variables.

Thus, it is apparent that research focusing on minorities, minority programming and practices is complex and should include many diverse stages and studies. This paper has been concerned with only one broad area of research—minority representation in the media. While it has focused primarily on the design of a study to assess these images, it also has noted the need to understand the institutional processes that produce and sustain or inhibit changes in them, and the need to examine the contribution of the media to people's conceptions of social reality relating to minorities.

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Changing Research Contexts and Methods

The following two papers represent departures in the methods of increasing minority audience numbers.

The first paper, by Gandy, presents a formula for producing larger minority audiences for public broadcasting in the same way that other industries "produce" a product.

The second paper, by Hardy, presents qualitative ratings as a special method to increase minority viewers' satisfaction with public broadcasting programs.

Toward the Production of Minority Audience Characteristics

Oscar Gandy Jr.

Abstract

This paper proposes the use of a technical approach to broadcast programming, which would have as its goal the increased production of minority audience characteristics. The Audience Production Function (APF) approach* described in this paper conceives of audience characteristics as the output or product of an industrial process that may be described in the form of a linear equation. Such an equation describes the maximum output of desired audience characteristics that would be produced with the optimal combination of inputs, here described as program attributes.

In proposing the use of an APF approach, the paper reviews the relevant literature on the relationship between program content and viewer choice. Of particular importance is the development of multi-attribute preference models, which have evolved from changing perspectives on consumer behavior. Such models represent a significant advance over traditional models that have limited audience options to choices from among broadly defined content categories. Multi-attribute preference models are seen to be the inverse of multi-variate production functions, such that in equilibrium, the bundle of program characteristics provided by program sources is equal to the consumption bundle demanded by the aggregate audience.

The production function approach as proposed for public telecommunications planners already has seen limited use outside of more traditional manufacturing firms. The "educational production function" approach is described as an effort to determine the relative and independent contribution of educational resources in the production of individual and aggregate achievement scores. Preliminary work on the estimation of APFs for commercial television is described, noting that these early studies have been limited to different specifications of a single attribute class—violence.

In noting the complexity of the audience production process, attention is called to the intermarket differences in content preferences. Factors that have

*The author's recent work on audience production functions has been supported in part by a grant from the University-Sponsored Faculty Research Program in the Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, 1979-1980, in the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

been successful in predicting ratings for different programs in the top 100 markets include the unemployment rate, market size and the consumer-spendable income per household within the market.

This paper recommends that CPB establish a panel of minority viewers. Using diaries and aided recall, this panel would provide the response data to be correlated with changes in program attributes during the rating period. It is proposed that a content analysis instrument be commissioned that will be sensitive to variations in content most important within minority preference structures. The panel's response to measured changes in content during the rating period will provide the basis for preliminary estimates of a minority APF.

Introduction

As noted recently by Lindsay, LeRoy, Novak and others (10, 39, 42, 49), the public television (PTV) audience is first and foremost a *television* audience, and what we know or can hope to know about ways of increasing the numerical and qualitative dimensions of the minority audience must first be developed in the context of that realization.

A second requirement is perhaps more difficult. It requires abandonment of traditional notions of public broadcasting as an *alternative* program source, and the efforts of its staff as being directed toward providing an alternative *service* to its audience. The Audience Production Function approach sees broadcasting as an industrial process with the *audience* as the principal product or output.

While there may be important differences between commercial and public broadcasting in terms of the audience characteristics that are most important in guiding production efforts, the essential product is still the same. That is, while commercial broadcasters may be concerned primarily with audience exposures to advertiser messages, and public broadcasters might be concerned with audience satisfaction, information gain or even "enhanced coping skills," both broadcasters are ultimately concerned with the characteristics of their program schedule that contribute most efficiently to the production of selected audience characteristics.

Perhaps the most difficult requirement of all is the requirement that public broadcasters make an explicit identification of the audience characteristics they wish to increase. It is recognized that public broadcasting is not a single product industry, and maximizing the satisfaction of the minority audience may reduce the satisfaction level of some other audience segment. But unless public broadcasting chooses to aim for the "lowest common denominator," politically sensitive choices will have to be made.

In the following pages we will review the literature that forms the theoretical and empirical basis from which the APF approach is derived. Following a detailed explanation of the approach and a summary of developmental studies completed thus far, we will explore the application of APF to the production of minority audience characteristics by public broadcasters. With regard to the problem of public broadcasters as multi-product firms that operate in an environment with competitive demands on audience attention and constraints on financial and human resources, we will examine the concept of linear programming as an adjunct to the APF approach.

Audience Behavior

Despite the growing popularity of a "uses and gratifications" approach to mass communication behavior, which seeks, on the face of it, to understand *why* individuals or groups differ in their

exposure to, use of and influence by the mass media, let me suggest (at the risk of being heretical) that the broadcast programmer has no need and perhaps no possibility of knowing why. As suggested by B. F. Skinner, "We do not need to try to discover what personalities, states of mind, feelings, traits of character, plans, purposes, intentions or the other perquisites of autonomous man really are in order to get on with a scientific analysis of behavior." (53, pp. 12-13)

Were I forced to make an approach to understanding why minority audiences differ so significantly in their media consumption patterns, my intellectual preferences would lead me toward what McQuail and Gurevitch (45) would describe as a structural/cultural perspective. In this view, audience behavior is structured, prescribed, even determined by exogenous factors, which Skinner would call the contingencies of reinforcement. More specifically, media behavior is constrained by socially or culturally determined limits on content and the uses to which it may be put. Thus a structuralist explanation for the divergence of blacks from the generalization that television viewing is inversely related to social class (7, 9, 12, 13, 25, 26) would begin by identifying the differences between blacks and others in the breadth of culturally sanctioned alternatives for recreation. It will be found that recreational alternatives that vary with social class for the majority population have been limited historically by racist practices in the U.S., and as a result, many blacks have turned instead to vicarious participation in the wider society through television.

What McLeod and O'Keefe describe as a "socialization perspective" takes a similar approach to understanding differences in media behavior. They argue, like Skinner, that "to understand human behavior, we must specify its social origins and the processes by which it is learned and maintained." (44, pp. 127-128) They identify five categories of variables that they feel are implicated in the development of regular patterns of media behavior:

> (1) age or life cycle positions of the influencee; (2) social structural constraints operating to affect learning; (3) agent or source of the influence; (4) learning processes involved in the socialization; and (5) content or criterion behavior being explained as the dependent variable. (44, p. 128)

And rather than treating age, sex, race and social class merely as categorical variables, they suggest that real understanding lies in the identification of experiences and the social learning processes common to individuals in those groups.

Fortunately or unfortunately, depending upon one's political perspective, broadcast programmers are not charged with the responsibility of modifying the social environment in order to bring about change through the redistribution of reward and punishment. So knowing why blacks fail to watch targeted public affairs programs may not be very helpful in changing their behavior.

This is not to deny the importance of the expected uses and gratifications that bring members of the audience to the screen and perhaps ensure their return. We have seen the literature burgeon in recent years with studies that seek to classify media users into "types" on the basis of their motivations. Most consistently, viewers are asked to describe their reasons for viewing television. Following the lead of Greenberg (8, 25, 26, 51), most published studies concentrate on six motivational factors:

■ *Learning or information gain*—often broken down into subgroupings, which include the desire to learn things about one's self.

■ *Habitual viewing to pass the time*—posits televiewing as the lesser of available evils.

■ *Source of companionship*—requires respondents to admit to loneliness and to perceive viewing as an alternative.

■ *Means of escape*—where respondents explicitly choose televiewing as a means of temporarily avoiding other less pleasant alternatives or demands.

■ *Stimulation or arousal*—posits use of television as a source of excitement.

■ *Relaxation*—posits use of television as a calming or relaxing agent.

For these factors to be of use in aiding program planners concerned with maximizing minority audience characteristics, it would have to be determined that there was a stable relationship between minority group membership and motivation for televiewing. Alan Rubin's study of some 400 fourth, eighth and eleventh graders (51) determined that only *age* could be identified as a consistent demographic correlate of viewing motivations. There were only slight differences between blacks and others in reported use of televiewing for purposes of relaxation, with blacks more likely to agree that relaxation described their motivations.

A more important conclusion drawn from Rubin's analysis is that none of these motivations were found to be strong correlates of preference for specific program types. That is to say that measures that do not successfully discriminate between demographic viewer groups also fail to discriminate between program types that might be seen to meet these different needs. Part of the difficulty is in the specification of the dependent variable, program types. If it turns out that greater specification, which reflects the great variety *within* program types, makes for stronger discrimination between variously motivated viewers, we are still faced with the failure of motivational variables to discriminate between relevant audience types.

This impression is reinforced by the analysis of program preferences recently published by Ronald Frank and Marshall Greenberg (20). The authors condensed a 59-item battery of psychological needs into nine basic goal orientations. These, combined with media use habits and reported interest in 139 different activities, were factor-analyzed to produce 14 viewer "types." One group, which they labeled as "detached," was quite cohesive in terms of demographic and motivational factors. They were black, both male and female, largely low-income, urban residents who were seeking escape from boredom when they turned to television. Unfortunately, at least for the utility of the motivation approach, they seemed quite satisfied to turn to just about anything—crime, drama, movies, science fiction and soap operas—to satisfy their needs. In their words, "the group's viewing was rather uniform across all categories of programs and shows no clear pattern of preference." (20, p. 102)

If we accept that many of the psychological, cultural and structural influences that interact to produce various audience characteristics are substantially beyond the control of the broadcast programmer (35, 71), and if we recognize that the complexity of their interaction is so great that we do not know at any one time which factor will be the most influential on the decisions of individuals, and yet we still maintain a commitment toward maximizing specific audience characteristics, then we have no choice but to examine more closely the relationship between content and those characteristics.

Relationship Between Content and Audience Size

The approach we have taken to the exploration of the link between program content and audience characteristics is

one that is based upon a set of economic assumptions about consumer behavior and the nature of revealed preference. Following the approach of Gary Becker (4), we see human behavior as being directed toward the maximization of utility through the allocation of resources in a manner consistent with a fairly stable and universal set of preferences. One must be clear that this set of preferences is not for specific commodities like automobiles, homes or trips to the Virgin Islands, but the set of more fundamental preferences that may be produced or maintained with those inputs, for example, good health, personal comfort, self-esteem. Thus it becomes clear that for any individual, the relationship between market goods and the more fundamental preferences may be quite variable over time, as may be those differences between people at any point.

Choice behavior within an economic science is related to actual and perceived costs and expected benefits to be derived from consumption, investment and exchange. A critical assumption of an economic approach is that choice behavior is rational, though not necessarily consciously determined. Behavior, which on the face of it may appear irrational, is generally seen to have been made on the basis of limited information about costs and benefits. In viewing television, as in any other behavioral realm, the economic approach would suggest that a viewer selects a program from among a set of programs, which is itself a member of a larger set of alternative activities, with the expectation that this selection is the best choice available to maximize personal satisfaction. It is our task to identify those program characteristics that will be chosen by viewers of known characteristics for use in a limited number of ways.

Several studies have reported significant differences between blacks and others in their preferences for content. James Carey (11) provided an analysis of audience data gathered in 1963 which revealed that while there was a significant rank-order correlation between the overall preferences of blacks and whites, there were some important and striking differences. Some programs that were quite high on the lists of the majority audience were quite low in the preferences of the minority. Carey's efforts to understand and explain these differences required him to go beyond the titles of the programs and attempt to describe them with more basic content characteristics. Carey found that programs that had a dramatic focus on the family were less valued by blacks than those programs that focused on characters acting as individuals. He also hypothesized that there was a revealed preference among blacks for programs in which individual conflict was a theme. While many of Carey's attempts to explain these revealed preferences were quite simplistic in their notions of black culture, it is his focus on program attributes that stands as the more important contribution.

Alan Fletcher, influenced no doubt by Carey during his studies at Illinois, found that there were even greater differences between black and white children in their revealed preference for television programs (19). Where Carey's overall correlations between black and white program preferences reached .50, Fletcher's reached only .20 for 75 programs. Fletcher identified a single program characteristic related to black program preference—an unexplained attraction for leading characters without mates. Each of the first four programs most highly viewed by the black youngsters had a single parent or parent figure as the leading character.

There is strong support for the prediction that the presence of minority characters in a program increases the probability of a larger than average minority audience for that program. This relationship is found even though black viewers

are quick to voice their criticism of the characteristics of the leads in many popular series (18). Beyond this, however, there is very little available that seeks to describe the content preferences of minority audiences. This is not a charge of racist neglect, benign or otherwise, because there is very little in the way of published research on the preferences of any racial or ethnic group, in which those preferences are revealed in the context of actual program choice.

Economists, concerned with the regulation of broadcasting, in which public interest has been defined in such a way that more "diversity" in program content is preferable to less, have made their own narrow contributions to our knowledge. The problem has been one of defining diversity in operational terms suitable for legislative and administrative decisions of great financial importance. The policy question revolves around the nature of competition within the broadcast market and the expectation that an additional channel (or a dozen with cable TV) would increase the diversity available to the consumer. Early studies conceived of diversity in program content as reflected in a finite set of program "types." Programs offered within the same program category would not increase diversity, so that if two competing networks offered crime-detective series at the same hour, they could be counted only as a single content type. The problem as expressed by Edward Greenberg and Harold J. Barnett is obvious:

> It is not clear to us why presentations of Olivier's *Hamlet*, a Marx brothers film and *High Noon* should be defined as no diversity because all are "Feature Films," while the addition of *I Love Lucy* (situation comedy?) and *Bonanza* (serial melodrama?) constitutes a double increment of diversity. (27, p. 91)

A high probability exists that there is as much diversity among some relevant content dimensions within program types as there is between them.

In their attempt to provide support for this criticism of the program "type" approach, Greenberg and Barnett examined the ratings of several theatrical films broadcast on television in 1968. Using multiple regression, the authors estimated the independent contribution of several variables to variance in audience shares. Along with color, film type, date of release and whether or not the film had been aired on an earlier date, the authors included seven dummy variables for each of the traditional categories used by the film industry. Only the identification of the film as a western was a significant factor in audience shares.

The failure of film type variables to explain any significant amount of the variance in audience shares is taken as evidence that program characteristics other than "type" are considered by viewers in choosing between alternatives. Further support for the ordering of preferences within the broad category of film along specific content dimensions can be found in the work of Ginette Herman and Jacques-Philippe Leyens (28). They report on a study of Belgian Television policy requiring that advisory warnings about sexual or violent content be provided for televised films. There are three levels of advisory used by the Belgian system ranging from an announcer's warning that the movie has violent, sexual or depressing scenes to the presence of a small white square at the lower right of the screen that remains throughout the broadcast. Their comparison of the audiences for programs with and without advisories revealed that programs with violent and sexual content attracted higher audiences than those without such content.

If one had confidence that the different advisories were reflections of varying amounts of sex or violence, and if we assumed them to be normal goods in the economic sense, we should expect that

there would be a positive linear relationship between measures of the content and measures of audience size. There was, however, no clear relationship between program popularity and the level of the warning, though the direction was positive for both sex and violence.

Multi-Attribute Choice Models

Marketing researchers, stimulated by the work of Kelvin Lancaster offering a new theory of consumer demand, have contributed to the development of multi-attribute models of consumer choice (31, 32, 36, 37). Lancaster has suggested that the consumer's preference is not for a particular commodity, but for the various characteristics of that product. This is consistent with Becker's notions of consumer preferences in that the differentially valued characteristics of products reflect their differential utility in producing good health, personal comfort or self-esteem. If one considers the purchase of a sports car, it is clear that there is more involved in that purchase than transportation or even personal comfort, and advertisers, aware of the importance of these other attributes, may call attention to them in promotional messages. The consumer then is faced with making a choice between products on the basis of their perceived characteristics, and within the context of their prices and the prices of alternatives. If we consider the selection of broadcast programs as consumer behavior, even though there is no direct monetary exchange, it should be possible to develop multi-attribute models of broadcast program choice.

Patrick and Alison Humphreys described an approach to estimating individual preference orderings for British films (32). Their interest was in describing the process used by program planners to select from film catalogs on the basis of very brief descriptions of the films. They recommended the use of a polar opposite scale of film characteristics, which included the familiar sexy-unsexy, violent-nonviolent dimensions, as well as estimates of quality (professional-amateur) and style (narrative-introspective). Estimation of preference orderings might use any one of a number of means to differentiate between the films on these content dimensions. One such method would involve the presentation of three film descriptions and ask judges to suggest dimensions in which two films were like each other, but different from the third. Ultimately, decision makers would be asked to rank the films in order of preference.

Donald Lehmann (37) offered an empirical test of the potential of multi-attribute choice models. In Lehmann's view, consumer choice involved the comparison of products with some ideal product located in a multi-dimensional attribute space. Lehmann felt that there were at least six dimensions along which preferences for television programs could be located. These were action, suspense, humor, personal involvement, well-produced and directed, and topical or educational value. Lehmann's model, based upon individual preferences for program attributes, was a better predictor of actual preferences than predictions based on program ratings of average popularity. Since it was likely that individuals would occasionally differ from the combined preferences of the entire population, one could predict their program preferences more accurately if one had knowledge of the relative weights they assigned to program attributes. It is useful to note that Lehmann's attributes were more successful in predicting preference and viewing of fictional drama, rather than sports or public affairs programs.

Byron Reeves' work on children's perception of televison characters also may be considered to be a multi-attribute approach to program choice. In these studies, Reeves and others attempt to

determine the dimensions or attributes used by children in selecting characters to model or to identify with. Multi-dimensional scaling techniques are used to factor out a number of independent dimensions perceived by children. Eight attributes were selected: funny, active, good-looking (attractive), strong, real person (realism), good, old, and like (liked by others). In the original published study (48), four dimensions emerged that were most successful in classifying characters. Not concerned with children's preferences for programs in which these characters appeared, the author did not address the relationship between content and *preferences*, other than the preference to be like or to act like a character. A replication, which sought to evaluate the stability of these attributes over time and with different populations, found that three of the four dimensions in the original study emerged in the latter study (47). Humor was the most stable characteristic used by children to differentiate between television characters. Neither of these studies sought to identify differences between racial groups, although Harvey Eastman and Marsha Liss have reported differences between black, Anglo and Hispanic children in their selection of favorite characters (18).

Robert Krull and James Watt (34, 66) have contributed some of the more novel specifications of program content that they have determined to be useful in predicting program choice. They have carefully specified the dimensions of a construct they call program complexity, which has been described by six principal indicators:

- *Set Time Entropy* is defined as the degree of randomness of the time of visual duration of discrete physical locations in a program.
- *Set Incidence Entropy* is defined as the degree of randomness of the appearance of discrete physical locations in a program.
- *Verbal Time Entropy* is defined as the degree of randomness of the time of audible behavior on the part of characters in a program.
- *Verbal Incidence Entropy* is defined as the degree of randomness of the performance of audible behavior on the part of characters in a program.
- *Set Constraint Entropy* is defined as the degree of randomness of the constraints of the discrete physical locations in a program.
- *Nonverbal Dependence Entropy* is defined as the degree of randomness of the time of nonverbalization by the characters in a program (34, p. 2).

Factor analyses performed on 168 programs aired during prime time produced two principal factors, "Dynamics" and "Unfamiliarity." They have hypothesized that the relationship between program form complexity and television ratings is curvilinear, suggesting that the highest ratings will be achieved for programs clustered at the midpoint of the complexity range. They also have hypothesized that "as the form complexity of public broadcast programs increases, ratings increase." (34, p. 11)

Using 1970 audience ratings averaged for a four-week period in October, polynomial regressions for each measure of complexity were estimated. The hypothesized relationship was not demonstrated—a fact that the authors suspect may reflect a change in the actual *composition* of the aggregate audience. Complexity may be preferred by adolescents, but this group tends not to watch television. When program complexity reaches a level satisfactory for adolescents, it has exceeded the optimal level for older members of the audience. With regard to public broadcasting programs, the authors recommend caution in the use of their findings, but the data would suggest the need for increasing the complexity of PBS-distributed programs to increase the size of the aggregate audience.

Violence as an Attribute

Violence, or "action" as it is referred to within the industry, has been treated as a reliable "attention grabber," perhaps the most efficient form of conflict within the dramatic arts. Although it is denied vigorously by network executives, witnesses from the creative community testified before the House Subcommittee on Communications (63, p. 24) that the "networks routinely ask for more 'action' in the scripts and formats they solicit." When organized public pressure against the amount of violence in programming began to influence a temporary decline in the amount of violence in the more "notorious" offerings like *Starsky and Hutch*, producers and programmers began to fear a decline in ratings (62). Few academic researchers, however, have examined the relationship between violence and program popularity beyond studies done in the context of youth and violent behavior.

John Doolittle examined the ratings for the 1975 television season to determine if there were a relationship between the amount of violence in a program and the ratings it achieved. High school juniors and seniors were asked to rate 49 prime-time series on a seven-point scale from very violent to nonviolent. Programs were classified into three groups: low, moderate and high violent. He reported no significant relationship between violence and the average ratings earned by these programs, but suggested that there was a relationship between the length of the program and its average ratings. Since the more violent programs tended to be 60 minutes or longer, their average ratings may have suffered as a result. It also was noted that violent programs often were in competition with other violent programs, which as suggested by Owen, Beebe and Manning (46), would result in a splitting of the potential audience between both programs, producing a lower rating for any single program.

Ed Diener and Darlene DeFour's study of the link between violence and program popularity differed from the Doolittle effort in that they relied on more objective measures of program content (15). Twelve "adventure" series were coded for the frequency of appearance of 78 different events, later grouped together into four main categories: verbal and physical aggression, drama, action, and humor. They selected the Nielsen "average audience" measure of program popularity as one of their dependent variables, along with subjective measures of popularity. The authors noted the sensitivity of the average audience measure to time of broadcast, but selected it nevertheless. Most curious, however, was their choice of a lagged measure in their regression estimates. That is, the scores of each episode on the four content indices were used to predict the average audience for the program *on the following week*. And when the program was not aired on the following week, they substituted ratings for the week after that. That the equation was nonsignificant is not surprising, nor is the fact that *none* of the content factors were significant.

Their conclusion that "program popularity might be a function of qualitative factors that were not captured in the simple discrete-event type categories" may be accurate, but it is more likely that their selection of the dependent variable was the more important flaw.

Gandy (21) made use of four different measures of violence in television programs broadcast between 1971 and 1976 and several different audience measures published by Nielsen in their National Television Index. Two quantitative measures—the number of violent acts in a program and the average number of violent acts per program minute—and two qualitative measures—the seriousness and the significance of the violence in the program—were used to predict

ratings in the first and second quarter-hours of each half-hour, as well as the half-hour share for each program. The difference between first and second quarter-hour ratings (loss in audience) also was computed and used as a dependent variable.

Several analytical approaches were presented. One, described as an industry-level approach, examined the correlations between the program attributes and various estimates of popularity. The amount of violence was not a significant correlate, but the seriousness and significance of the violence were significant, negative correlates of audience shares for all programs. Multiple regression models, which estimate the independent contribution of each variable while holding the others constant, revealed that the amount of violence was a significant positive factor in audience ratings and shares.

The second approach, which focused on the networks as independent programmers competing for audiences, was more successful in describing the relationship between violence and program popularity. The amount of violence in CBS programs was a significant factor in producing the high ratings CBS programs enjoyed during the 1971-1976 period.

Reservations about the findings reported in this study and in a more recent analysis by Gandy and Signorielli (22) are based upon their use of quarter-hour popularity ratings and program average estimates of violence. Such average estimates do not reflect the true variation in program content on a minute-by-minute basis, which might be reflected in changes in audience size in different quarter-hours.

Preliminary analyses of the relation between violence measures, computed on a minute-by-minute basis and totaled for the half-hour, and estimates of the ratings for the second quarter-hour of each half-hour suggest that there is still a significant relationship between violent action and program popularity. Acts of violence during the half-hour and the duration of violence during the half-hour were highly correlated, so they were combined into a single composite index with an internal homogeneity of .65 (alpha). For 512 half-hour periods in May 1979, the relationship between violence and second quarter ratings is negative and significant (-.05), although slight.

Within a subset of programs (n = 148 half-hours) classified as dramatic series, most of the variance in ratings (15.6 percent) is accounted for by time and program length variables, and violence is a positive but nonsignificant contributor to ratings. For "made-for-television movies," a new popular form emerging from the frantic competition for ratings among commercial networks (n = 148 half-hours), violence was a negative but nonsignificant factor in program popularity.

All preliminary analyses, including models that specifically considered the amount of violence available on competing channels, point toward a reduction in the perceived utility of violent program content, at least as measured by the number and duration of violent acts.

Audience Production Functions

There is more to the success of a program than the amount of sex and violence contained in any single program. As has been suggested, the relationship between program content and audience characteristics is complex, and we have only recently seen attempts to determine empirically the relationship between specific content attributes and changes in the aggregate audience. The audience production function (APF) approach is an attempt to reduce some of the complexity in the process in a way that will allow broadcast programmers to increase the probability of their success in producing the kind of audience characteristics they desire.

As we have noted, the APF approach

see the production of audience characteristics as the principal output of the broadcasting effort. Audience production is a technical process, much like the manufacturing of shoes or automobiles, that involves the skillful combination of inputs, so as to maximize the production of a desired output. Like any production process, it can be described in terms of the optimal amounts of selected inputs.

The estimation of technical production functions through least-squares multiple regression has not been limited to more traditional commodities. Considerable research has been published that describes "educational production functions," which attempt to describe the optimal combination of inputs in the production of verbal and math scores in elementary and secondary educational settings (3, 41).

Traditional formulations of the educational production function specify the relationship between an output measure, such as performance on a standardized test, as a function of school resources (including teacher characteristics), student background factors (many of which are social class-determined) and the nature of peer influence (also social class-based). By examining the coefficients of the various input factors in any specification, educational policy makers theoretically would be able to estimate the impact of an increase in any one of those factors, such as increasing the number of teachers with graduate degrees.

Whereas an educational production function would describe the optimal combination of school resources necessary to produce the desired increase in school-wide achievement scores, the audience production function for public broadcasting would seek to describe the optimal combination of attributes in a program schedule, which would produce the desired increase in awareness, viewing and appreciation of that schedule by minority households.

To date, work on the specification of APFs has been limited to the audience for commercial television. And while the raw materials from which the public telecommunications audience will be built are essentially the same as for the commercial production process, I suspect public telecommunications planners will impose certain limitations on production technology, just as society sets limits on the kinds of fuels we can use in the production of energy.

Market Factors

Production function estimates also have been limited to a specification of some of the inputs that are important in producing audiences at the level of national aggregates, or television households. It is known, however, that there are significant differences between markets in their preference for certain programs. Ratings for popular network programs vary from market to market, but there has been very little, if any, empirical work published identifying the factors that explain those intermarket differences.

As a way of addressing the problem of market factors in audience production, we examined the relative success of three different programs in the top 100 markets identified by the Arbitron Corporation. From several sources, including *Standard Rates and Data Services*, we collected a variety of market demographics including the number of blacks, percent unemployed, consumer spendable income per household and a number of measures of the incidence of violent crime.

Buffalo Soldiers, a film about black cavalry men, *The Rockford Files*, a popular private detective series and *Charlie's Angels*, a unique combination of sex and violence, were selected as programs to follow through the top 100 markets. Taken as a group, simple correlations of ADI ratings (percentage of TV households in the market viewing the program)

with the demographic variables produced a number of significant but small coefficients. The most important (r = .15) was the correlation between unemployment and ratings. The higher the unemployment rate in the market, the higher the ratings for these programs.

Program by program, different demographic variables emerged as significant. For *Buffalo Soldiers,* there was a strong negative correlation between consumer spendable income (CSI) per household and program ratings, and a strong positive correlation between ratings and percent of the work force unemployed. One could summarize the factors in this way: The program was more popular in smaller markets where there was more unemployment and, consequently, less spendable income per household. Surprisingly, there was no apparent relationship between program success and the relative size of the black population.

For the *Rockford Files,* we found a reversal in the relationship between market size and popularity. This program was more popular in the big cities, but the relationship between unemployment, CSI per household and ratings was essentially the same as for *Buffalo Soldiers.* Because *Rockford* was a Friday night program, the impact of unemployment and CSI is quite logical; televiewing is the most reasonable alternative to doing nothing at all.

For *Charlie's Angels,* the economic variables were of little importance, and the only demographic variable that was correlated at the one percent level of significance was the estimate of the murder rate/1000(r=-.316). The fact that the program was aired on a Wednesday evening, when unemployment and income would be less important in limiting alternatives, would serve to explain their limited correlation with program ratings. We have no explanation for the correlation between ratings and the murder rate and the marginally significant (r=.216) correlation with the percentage of blacks in the population.

These preliminary findings suggest that the audience production function estimates that are based on the aggregate national audience are not very useful at the level of local markets. We have suggested elsewhere (22) that they also are somewhat limited in describing the production of specific audience subgroups. Although we have not tested that contention directly, there is reason to believe that the coefficients for violence attributes would vary substantially if the output were defined specifically as male, female or black adult. We believe that r^2 would rise substantially as well.

Estimating the Function

The estimation of APFs could proceed in a number of ways. Since the audience for public telecommunications is first and foremost the audience for telecommunications as a whole, we might continue efforts to describe the relationships that currently exist between content and audience characteristics. This would base our models upon audience preferences and tastes as they currently are. And while such an approach is inherently conservative and casts the future in the tracks of the past, alternative approaches that are more dependent upon controlled, rather than natural, experiments suffer the great risk of bearing little relationship to the real world of media behavior.

The kind of precise controls necessary to specify the content preference functions of individuals within the context of a laboratory creates choice situations that rarely occur in the natural environment. While a series of forced-choice comparisons of hundreds of films may reveal the ordered preferences of single individuals, they do not describe the more complex conditions under which the choice of films actually takes place. We would argue instead that genuine audi-

ence preferences are virtually never realized, and choices are always second-best. For most members of the media audience, content options lie within finite boundaries described by the preferences of others in the family. And within many families, the ability to influence choices within those boundaries varies with age, sex and family position. Infants may be seen to exercise virtually no choice in determining which content they will be exposed to, even though Hollenbeck (30) reported that infants were exposed to an average of two hours of television each day.

Older children have somewhat more control over their exposure to television programs and probably choose somewhat freely from among radio offerings. Wand (64) reports that children prevailed about half of the time when there was conflict about program choices, unless there was conflict between the parents as well. In most of those cases, one parent, usually the mother, prevailed. Overall, Wand reported that one-sixth of the time family members viewed programs in which they had expressed no interest, another sixth of the time they viewed programs in spite of having expressed opposition. The rest of the time viewing was consistent with members' expressed interest. But here, we can be sure expressed interest does not mean choice within the set of all possible or theoretical alternatives, but choice within the alternatives immediately available from media sources.

The availability of content is quite clearly a factor in determining choice behavior. Audiences cannot *choose* to watch a debate between representatives of the Communist Workers Party and the Ku Klux Klan, because that is not one of the alternatives available at 8 p.m. Whether or not they would *prefer* to watch such a debate is largely irrelevant. On occasion, we have the opportunity to observe changes in audience behavior when there are deamatic changes in the availability of content. J. Mallory Wober describes the changes in viewing of specific program types when a strike by workers kept Independent Television off the air for 11 weeks. Wober was able to compare content availability and viewing before, during and after the strike in order to examine the relationship between content and choice over a period too brief for any significant change in preferences to have occurred (70). His analysis introduced a conditional variable, salience, which was a measure of the relative prominence of content in the schedule. It was possible for the actual amount of a program type to have declined and its relative amount to have increased, which could result in an overall decline in viewing by the audience of that particular content.

It would be difficult to reproduce the kind of natural experiment that revealed the nature of choice behavior in the face of changing availabilities. But this is not to suggest that public telecommunications planners need to sit back and wait for commercial sources to introduce another *Roots* or *Shogun* into the stream of available content in order to determine the aggregate and target audience response to changes in the program schedule.

Promotion of Public Channels

Unfortunately, however, the choice between programs on the commercial channels and the public channel is not based entirely on the range of attributes available. We are familiar with the technical limitations described as the "UHF handicap." We may be less aware or less willing to admit that there is a handicap that comes from being regarded as an elite educational channel. For many in the audience, and in the minority audience in particular, public broadcasting channels are familiar only to their children.

Channel loyalty is a reality. Such loyalties are developed over time as pro-

gram types become associated with specific stations. Although his data were collected in the Winnipeg market, Rene Darmon's observation that each station "caters to a specific market segment and does not attempt successfully to capture audience from other stations" (14, p. 20) may apply to many public telecommunications outlets in the U.S. as well.

Estimates of audience production functions for minority audiences produced by public telecommunications outlets may have to include a coefficient for advertising and promotion. Just as commercial broadcasters invest in the production of thousands of on-air promotions targeted to the perceived interests of male, female and youth audiences, and just as advertisers of commercial goods tend to highlight attributes of their products they know are important to their segmented market, promoters of public telecommunications fare will have to highlight those aspects of its programs that APF research has shown to be a significant predictor of choice.

Minority Production Functions

We have suggested that audience production functions would be useful in the construction of program schedules to maximize the production of selected audience characteristics. Obviously, one such characteristic to produce is the number of minority households that regularly turn to the public channels.

The proportion of blacks and other minorities in the samples of Nielsen and Arbitron may be appropriate for describing the national audience, but they are far too small for describing the minority audience. Any effort to estimate minority production functions would require the more costly option of establishing a changing national panel, corrected periodically by larger samples in key markets. Whatever problems we might fear in panel members becoming "experts" by virtue of their selection would probably be outweighed by the increased precision of our models. If we are correct in our feelings that audience behavior within the minority strata is more homogeneous than within the national audience as a whole, the sample size need not be as large as that used by Nielsen, but substantially larger than the 126 blacks interviewed by Statistical Research, Inc., during 1977 (55).

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting would need to commission a content analysis of national program offerings coincident with their panel surveys. Initially, such an effort should be limited to the offerings of the three commercial networks. This instrument should be particularly sensitive to characteristics of programs that are likely to be attractive to minority audiences, such as the presence of minority leading characters and the treatment of minority issues and themes. The identification of key program characteristics would be aided by prior surveys of the sort reported by Reeves (47, 48) in his efforts to understand how children perceive television characters. Here, we would be interested in identifying the underlying dimensions along which minority audiences classify television programs. Because the panel would report viewing changes every quarter-hour, we would prefer quantitative, rather than purely qualitative, measures of program content.

Ordinary least squares would be used to estimate the coefficients for each of the significant correlates of program ratings. As has been noted in Gandy and Signorielli (22), there are a number of programming strategies that have an impact on program ratings independent of the specific content of any program. The lead-in, or the size of the audience for the previous quarter-hour, is one of the most important correlates of program ratings.

Indeed, a program has to be virtually abhorred, rather than merely not preferred, according to Paul Klein's Least Objectionable Program (33) model of televiewing, not to benefit from a strong lead-in.

Another factor infrequently considered in audience studies is the time of day, day of the week or season of the year in which a program is aired. Where *ratings* are estimates described as a proportion of television households, the proportion of households using television (HUT level) varies throughout the evening, rising to a peak around 9 p.m. and declining thereafter. General audience programs tend to be scheduled during the period when the HUT levels are the highest, while the adult programs are scheduled during the periods of declining viewing. Similarly, since Sunday evening is the most popular television-viewing day of the week, general audience programs again predominate. The APF estimates must take account of these content-free scheduling influences that are more related to the availability of audience types for viewing.

Although there is less domestic support for the notion of channel loyalty, the sensitivity of the model to panelist preference for a single channel should be considered. The familiarity of characters and programs is an important component as well, as returning series tend to be more popular than new series on the average, and spin-offs from successful series may enjoy something of a head start on the rest of the pack in developing viewer loyalty.

A more difficult aspect of the audience production process is the realization that the audience for program *A* is not only a function of the content within that program, but it also is dependent upon the nature of the alternatives available on the other channels. It has been theorized that similar programs on competing channels serve to restrict the ratings attained by either.

As Wakshlag and Greenberg (65) have reported that many of these factors are intercorrelated and their independent influence vanishes in multiple regression, they are not likely to confound our estimates seriously if a scheduling index can be created.

One would want to observe the stability of the coefficients of the more significant program attributes, as subsets of the program schedule are described. Gandy and Signorielli (22) have noted that the explained variance in the production models increases significantly as more homogeneous programs are explored. With a more homogeneous audience to begin with, we would expect a less dramatic change in the coefficients as we move across program types.

The movement toward same day and perhaps same time scheduling of "high visibility" PBS programs may provide the opportunity to estimate the marginal product of promotions aimed at target minority audiences, which call attention to those aspects of public network programs with a known appeal to minority audiences. The ability to focus the attention of a target audience upon selected aspects of a more general audience program may be helpful in a final consideration—that of the public broadcaster as a multi-product firm.

While we have concentrated on describing the production of minority audiences, public broadcasting stations generally will be concerned with producing a broader audience likely to make contributions to its program budget. If the record of the SPC selection process (6) is evidence of willingness of local station managers to seek minority audiences to the detriment of their traditional majority group supporters, there is little chance of that occurring. What we would be faced with is a linear programming problem. A search for an optimal solution to several simultaneous equations is limited by the availability of resources and the technical

requirements of competing production processes Ronald Rothenberg (50) describes the use of packaged programs to solve complex systems of equations, but we are currently a long way from being ready to put it to use.

Summary and Recommendations

What we have seen is that there is a considerable amount of research on the behavior of media audiences, very little of it from the perspective of the producer of audiences and even less reflecting a concern for the production of minority audience characteristics. What research there is tends to focus on aspects of media use that are largely beyond the control or influence of the public telecommunications planner.

We have suggested that there is some promise to be found in the APF approach to media behavior. The APF approach treats audience characteristics as the output of an industrial process, described in part in terms of relative amounts of various program attributes within a program schedule. The APF approach is derived from the efforts of economists and decision theorists to develop multiattribute preference functions, which are seen to be the inverse of technical production functions. In equilibrium, the mix of attributes provided is the same as the mix of program attributes demanded.

Complications due to limitations on the complete specification of audience production functions have been described. The necessity for more detailed description of program attributes, along with the ability to examine the revealed preferences of more homogeneous audiences, has been noted, with special reference to these needs in the context of minority audience production.

A program of research, beginning with the establishment of a panel of minority viewers, has been recommended. Such a panel would provide a record of their television use during one or more rating periods each year through diaries and aided recall. Concidentally, a major effort to describe the offerings of public television in terms of program attributes determined to be relevant to minority viewing decisions is recommended. These two data sources will provide the basis for the estimation of minority audience production functions.

It is expected that public telecommunications planners committed to increasing the production of minority characteristics will be guided by such research in the structuring and the promotion of the program schedule toward that end.

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Qualitative Research and Its Relevance to Minority Audience and Programming Concerns

Thomas A. Hardy

"Qualitative research," "psychographic analysis" and "lifestyle studies" all have been used to define a new direction in broadcast audience analysis. In an attempt to move beyond mere head counts of present-day ratings systems and into the underlying motivations for such audience-based analysis, this paper will provide an overview of the general trends of audience analysis referred to as "qualitative research." Our analysis will focus on the applicability of qualitative research methods to minority programming.

Specifically, we will attempt to answer the following questions:

- What is qualitative research and how is it used in broadcast analysis today?
- What are the benefits of qualitative research?
- How can qualitative research be used in minority programming decisions or in analyzing minority-targeted media usage?
- What are the probable future directions of qualitative research? What is the probability that qualitative research methods will be applied in minority-targeted programming?

We will seek to answer these questions and to suggest how qualitative research methods can be applied in the development and evaluation of minority-targeted programming.

What Is Qualitative Research and What Are Its Applications in Broadcast Analysis Today?

Traditionally, the national broadcast audience has been viewed as a large, amorphous entity that offers the broadcast analyst little more than statistical measurement of comparative exposure to various broadcast programs. This method of audience measurement may offer some general knowledge about audience behavior and the type of data used by media researchers, but quantitative audience research, i.e., rating systems, cannot tell us how radio and television fit into the lives of various sectors of society, how program choices are perceived by audiences or why particular audiences watch particular programs.

Qualitative analysis, on the other

hand, attempts to bridge the gap between what people watch and why they have these particular program habits and preferences. This approach, also the basis of the "uses and gratifications" approach, could be used singularly or to supplement demographic audience ratings. Together the two approaches offer a more comprehensive view of how television and radio fit into the lives of the general public.

Two concepts are central to understanding qualitative television ratings (QTR) in public broadcasting:

- Qualitative research is more complex, more extensive and multi-dimensional compared to traditional quantitative research methods, i.e., audience ratings systems. The Carnegie Commission report justifies and encourages the use of qualitative research methods for public broadcasting.
- The current systems for measuring critical responses to programming are limited in their ability to provide qualitative audience feedback.

Several conferences sponsored by CPB's Office of Communication Research addressed the two-fold question of programming goals for public broadcasting and appropriate structures for the design of qualitative measurements. Most qualitative measurements discussed during these conferences were related to viewer satisfaction, but conference participants stressed the need for attention to be given to issues placed higher on the viewer impact continuum, that is, issues such as information gain, recall and other qualitative measurements of program impact. This raises a number of questions regarding feedback—feedback to whom? in what form? regarding which program decisions? While some of these questions have been posed by program decision makers, program funders and producers in the broadcast industry, more attention must be given to a variety of research methodologies in order to obtain answers.

What Are the Benefits and Possible Applications of Qualitative Research Methods?

Qualitative research methods have become an evaluative tool that will be beneficial in providing direction and serving as a foundation for reaching public broadcasting's program goals, specifically programming for specialized target audiences. This point is corroborated in the report of the CPB-sponsored Technical Conference on Qualitative Television Ratings:

> . . . [T]o the extent that this new research can diagnostically pinpoint the sources of programming success and failure, a qualitative television rating system should ultimately improve the development of future programming. (1)

Thus, from the policy perspective, qualitative research and analysis can support defining the degree to which program funding actually meets the goals and directions of new investments in public broadcasting.

Beyond the general benefit of helping to target particular audiences in the program development phase, qualitative research also can serve to "advise producers on casting decisions, set design, high and low points of audience involvement . . . and other internal program variables." (2) It can further serve in the promotional efforts of target and general audience programming.

Although "program awareness" is the saleable commodity in program promotion, there are great similarities in the methods applied in both program promotion and advertising, both of which could effectively use qualitative measurement:

> Many advertising agencies and their clients routinely use segmentation research based on customer attitudes, perceptions or preferences toward the product categories and toward brands as a basis for developing and testing advertisements. . . . (3)

A hypothetical case on public television's institutional image cited in the report of the CPB Applications Conference on QTR also supports this point:

> Public television viewer data are important in isolating the viewing motivations and satisfactions which are important to promote with the current audience; whereas public television nonviewer data can be used to analyze possible reasons for nonviewing, and negative sterotypes and images which must be overcome in order to attract new viewers.(4)

Both of these observations indicate that the use of qualitative data already exists in the communications industry. There also is evidence that qualitative measurements have been applied in commercial radio and in magazines. Specific benefits for these media have been noted in the planning stage, in both program content and development. There also is some evidence that cable television decision makers may soon adopt these qualitative methods as multi-channel options become more available.

How Can Qualitative Research Be Used in Minority Programming Decisions or in Analyzing Minority-Targeted Media Usage?

A great number of studies have indicated that there are differences between minority and nonminority media consumption patterns (5). Generally, these studies indicate that minority households view more television than nonminority households across all dayparts (6). In addition, Table 3 indicates that minority viewers are more loyal to prime-time programs than are nonminorities (7).

These figures suggest that there may be a relationship between minority viewing habits and the nature of the medium of television itself.

TABLE 3
Program "Loyalty"

	Nonwhites	*Whites*
	Share of Audience	
Top-rated prime-time program	43.0	35.6
15th-rated prime-time program	25.8	21.5

One CPB report, for example, indicated that in addition to program loyalty and the amount of time spent viewing television, minority participation in surveys is lower than that of the rest of the population "unless special efforts are made." (8) This suggests that if the goal is to obtain an accurate view of minority attitudes toward public broadcasting, it is necessary to find new research methodologies that will better represent minority populations.

The CPB report further indicates that new methods of programming and promotion may be necessary if minorities are to be given attention in public broadcasting:

> . . . [T]here may be vastly different reasons for a white, blue-collar worker buying a certain product and those for his black coworker doing so. Factors pertaining to their attitudes and their use of leisure time, for example, may warrant two vastly different advertising campaigns. By the same token, these same lifestyle differences may dictate different ways to program for minority as opposed to white audiences. (9)

To apply this type of target programming and promotion within the public broadcasting sector would be much easier than within commercial broadcasting, since program development, scheduling and promotion could be aimed at different target audiences with varied interests.

Ronald Frank and Marshall Greenberg, who were participants in the CPB-sponsored Applications Conference on Qualitative Television Ratings, presented

a structure that received a positive response from participants. Their system, though psychographically based, when separated in racial/ethnic classifications, yielded some interesting information. The authors presented a 14-segment "interest-based" division of the national television audience. The classifications were based on reasons for viewing certain programs as well as general interest. Table 4 indicates that there are significant differences in terms of interest segments between at least two minority audiences, black and Hispanic, thus supporting the view that minorities cannot be lumped into one amorphous group for target programming (10). Annex A (page 137) explains the Frank/Greenberg model for interest segment categories.

Although the national population estimates are questionable, these data are instructive in terms of estimating interest areas for minority-targeted programming. Blacks tend to be "highly diversified" according to the definition provided by Frank and Greenberg, while Hispanics tend to be significantly less diversified. Whether this means that blacks are less homogeneous than Hispanics is unclear, but this finding nevertheless is interesting as a consideration for targeting minority programming. The data also indicate a significant difference in interest in news and information, athletic and social activities among blacks and Hispanics.

The Frank and Greenberg model is readily understood by both policy makers and researchers and provides a system through which target audiences (in this case, minorities) could be attracted to public television based on "interests" or "information needs" rather than targeted programs based simply on racial identification. The authors presented a four-fold rationale for the efficacy of their study.

> . . . [W]e believe that our interest-based audience segmentation scheme provides an extremely useful conceptual tool for analyzing and developing solutions to the problem of attracting more viewers to public television.
>
> . . . [W]e believe that by examining the interests, needs and other characteristics of each of the 14 segments, a mix of programs could be developed to have a broad reach . . . [D]uring the course of a week, each of the interest segments could find several attractive offerings.
>
> . . . [B]y studying the demographic characteristics and other media behavior of each interest segment, it is possible to develop efficient strategies for reaching target interest segments to inform them of the existence of programs they

Table 4

Differences in Interests Between Blacks and Hispanics

Interest Segment Categories	*Black*	*Hispanic*
Athletic and Social Activities	11%	4%
Indoor Games and Social Activities	4%	6%
News and Information	13%	2%
Highly Diversified	33%	7%
Detached	19%	5%
Cosmopolitan Self-Enrichment	2%	8%
National Population Estimates	11%	4%

> will want to view and to let them know when they will be broadcast.
>
> . . . [W]e believe there is an additional benefit in approaching the audience problem in this way, as it is inherently less politicized. (11)

Public television programming is at present attempting to program to the "interests" of its viewing audience. If the definition of "interests" can be broadened to incorporate viewer attitudes about each particular format as well as media usage patterns within each interest group, the needs of minority viewers could be better served because programs would be targeted in relation to specific needs and interests *as defined by those groups* in at least two ways. First, programs could be designed "exclusively for" particular racial or ethnic target groups. In spite of this "exclusivity," it would be surprising if such programming did not also attract persons outside of the particular target populations. Second, programs could be developed that would address minority and majority information needs without regard to racial or ethnic exclusivity. Although communication researchers have not traditionally given much attention to differences in information needs among different socio-economic classes (by income differences), such a study would be quite useful in helping program decision makers and producers in reaching minority-targeted audiences. Such a study would need to consider socio-economic class differences among both minorities (breakdown necessary) and whites to allow for cross-tabulation of interests, class and race/ethnicity.

If properly designed, this "interest-based" system also could supplement existing syndicated research services and serve as a foundation for an ongoing administrative structure within the Office of Communication Research of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

What Are the Probable Future Directions of Qualitative Research? What Is the Possibility That Qualitative Research Methods Will Be Applied in Minority-Targeted Programming?

If qualitative research methodology is adopted by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, I hope that minority perspectives will be included. If CPB follows the implementation strategies for qualitative research as outlined in *A Formula for Change,* a comprehensive qualitative research and analysis component could be designed for public broadcasting and promotion, specifically for minority audience needs and interests. If such a program is designed, at least two approaches already have been outlined in the 1980 CPB Technical Conference on QTR report. The first approach is similar to that used by commercial networks:

> The unit could be positioned within a total research program within the Office of Communication Research. . . . The research cycle can parallel the program life cycle, tracking and contributing to program concept development, concept testing, formative research, pilot testing, traditional program ratings and special impact studies. (12)

This system, while more expensive, could provide a greater degree of feedback and, therefore, a more responsive program schedule or program promotion campaign.

A second direction that qualitative research could take would be a more sophisticated national ascertainment system. Again, the 1980 Technical Conference report provides direction:

> . . . [O]ne approach to the design of a qualitative rating system might originate with an ascertainment of public attitudes toward television and its perceived ability to address personal, community and national problems currently unaddressed by television programs . . .

> [T]hen future program funding efforts could systematically seek out programming which addressed these social needs. Subsequent qualitative ratings would then evaluate the extent to which viewers believe resulting programs successfully addressed the problem areas. (13)

If properly designed and implemented, qualitative ratings systems could have an enormous effect on both minority-targeted and general audience programming. Not only would program content of interest to minority populations be included in the program schedule, but awareness of such programs among minorities also should increase due to more effective promotional strategies. Minorities and all special interest groups whose needs do not fit into the "mainstream" of programming will benefit from a qualitative research system that reflects the goals and objectives of public television.

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Annex A: Characteristics of Frank/Greenberg Qualitative Interest Categories with High Minority Proportions*

Detached

Proportions—19 percent black, 5 percent Hispanic.

General characteristics—low socio-economic profile; extremely few interests and activities and few psychological needs satisfied by them; low scores on needs related to both intellecutal stimulation and interpersonal contact and support.

Demographic characteristics—high proportion of "inner city" residents; low household income ($10,600-$14,200); 26 percent without high school diploma.

Viewing behavior—7 percent below average.

Favorite programs—soaps, crime drama, movies, science fiction; the most need for escape of any group.

Indoor Games and Social Activities

Proportions—21 percent black, 12 percent Hispanic.

General characteristics—young low income females; interested in activities, especially indoor games; low interest in most subject matter areas; nonintellectual; high need for status enhancement and to be socially stimulating.

Demographic characteristics—average age 22; 91 percent female.

Viewing behavior—14 percent above average.

Favorite programs—science fiction, game shows, musical performance, soaps.

Highly Diversified

Proportions—33 percent black, 7 percent Hispanic.

General characteristics—southern black adults with children; broad range of interests, especially these permitting personal participation with family and/or other informal group settings; high need for intellectual stimulation and growth.

Demographic characteristics—household income $12,700-$14,200.

Viewing behavior—highest of any group, 20 percent above average.

Favorite programs—musical performance, science fiction, children's adventure.

Cosmopolitan Self-Enrichment

Proportions—2 percent black, 8 percent Hispanic.

General characteristics—extremely high socio-economic profile; diverse patterns of intellectual and cultural interests; physically active; high need for intellectual stimulation, unique/creative accomplishment and understanding others; low need for status enhancement and escape from boredom.

Demographic characteristics—high education, income and job status; average age 36.

Viewing behavior—25 percent below average, lowest level of any group (less time at home).

Favorite programs—theatrical performances, daily news documentaries, talk shows.

*See *Attracting Minority Audiences to Public Television*, report prepared by National Analysts, a division of Booz-Allen & Hamilton. Washington, D.C.: Office of Communication Research, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1981.

Developing Philosophies Toward New Technologies

This final paper looks into the future of public broadcasting to analyze how the new developments in broadcast technology might affect service to minority audiences.

The author suggests research directions to help broadcasters understand the impact of new technologies on people of color, as well as help ensure that their impact would be beneficial.

Emerging Telecommunications Technologies, Public Telecommunications and People of Color

Nolan A. Bowie

The 1980s have been hailed as the beginning of the "information age." New and emerging telecommunications technologies, broadcast and nonbroadcast, have been touted as vehicles for delivering the public into a new era in which it will benefit from abundant new information sources, diversity of viewpoint, higher-quality information and a more responsive system of public telecommunications.

The potential benefits of telecommunications technologies are as unlimited as our imaginations, but whether or not these new technologies will benefit the majority of the people remains a critical question. Not only can information and images (words, photographs, graphic data, specialized reporting) be transmitted electronically over long distances, but new technologies can now regulate home appliances on command, record and store oral or written data, provide basic medical or consumer information via telephone recordings, hold teleconferences or monitor energy usage.

The purpose of this paper is to raise a set of critical considerations regarding the impact of these new and emerging technologies upon people of color and the poor. Perhaps the primary consideration is the question of affordability: How many people and what sectors of the population will be able to take advantage of the new technologies? Equally important, though perhaps less obvious, is a set of social and political questions that will be explored as the paper proceeds.

What sectors of the population will benefit from a "rapid, efficient, nationwide . . . wire and radio communications service with adequate facilities at reasonable charges" as mandated in Section I of the Communications Act of 1934? The amended Act provides that "it is necessary and appropriate for the federal government to complement, assist and support a national policy that will most effectively make public telecommunications services available to all citizens of the United States." (1) Will changes brought about by emerging telecommunications technologies promote public interest, convenience and necessity as required by Section III of the Act? How

might new and emerging technologies affect public telecommunications policy? These are the fundamental considerations posed in this paper. Three principal propositions are offered:

- that the primary benefits of new and emerging telecommunications technologies will widen the information gap between the rich and the poor;
- that new and emerging broadcast technologies are not likely to result in more diversified viewpoints, better programming or greater access; and
- that minority audiences will not likely be a major consideration as new technologies emerge, and they will have little say in the creation of new and emerging technologies or subsequent programming needs because they lack the economic and political power to control technology in general.

Proposition A: Minorities Are Not Likely to Benefit From New and Emerging Telecommunications Technologies

People of color and the nation's poor are not likely to benefit from new and emerging telecommunications technologies for two principal reasons:

- the probability that the Communications Act of 1934 will be amended to the disadvantage of people of color and the poor; and
- economic inability to purchase or subscribe to emerging technologies, both hardware and associated software.

Amendments to the Communications Act of 1934: It is expected that sometime during the next four years, Congress will be successful in its efforts to rewrite the Communications Act, or at the very least, to amend it substantially. Already, the FCC has approved a proposal to eliminate regulation of computerized communications services (2), and there also has been some deregulation within the cable television industry (3). It also appears that the "public interest" standard of the 1934 Communications Act will be eliminated and replaced with a standard that relies on the marketplace to satisfy "consumer welfare." Grounds for such changes traditionally have been based on any or all of the following arguments:

- that restrictions imposed by regulation under the public interest standard severely limit the telecommunications industry's ability to compete in the open market;
- that regulation severely limits profits;
- that regulation causes unnecessary and burdensome paperwork and, as a consequence, requires a high bureaucratic governmental structure to enforce compliance with the FCC mandate; and
- that regulation is, in fact, unenforceable and infringes upon the First Amendment right of free speech.

All of these arguments benefit the producers of technology (including programming) rather than the consumer of telecommunications technology.

Based on these speculations and recognizing the profit motive as a primary factor, there is little likelihood that minorities will benefit from electronic delivery systems of broadcast programming and other services, both old and new (e.g., home security systems, electronic fund transfers, direct broadcast satellites, viewdata, teletext) chiefly because of lack of access caused by prohibitive costs.

Economic constraints: Since minorities are disproportionately represented among the poor, access to new and emerging telecommunications technologies will generally be beyond the financial means of these groups (which bear a significant overlap). During a recent conference held on computer communications, Konrad Kalba pointed out that in some cases, substantial capital investments are neces-

sary for "exotic" equipment purchases such as home computers, home satellite receivers (earth stations), pay cable, subscription television and television monitoring equipment (4). He added that the additional expense of software such as blank cassettes is also prohibitively high.

Only those consumers who have the ability to pay will be able to benefit from these new technologies. Thus, minority access to emerging telecommunications technologies is likely to be significantly less than that of majority audiences because of sheer inability to make the capital investment required and the accompanying costs of software. If new and emerging telecommunications technologies are not accessible to minorities, the mandate of the Communications Act of 1934 cannot be fulfilled (cf. page 141).

Proposition B: New and Emerging Telecommunications Technologies Are Not Likely to Promote More Diverse Points of View

"More communication is not always better . . . In many cases, people already have more information than they are able to absorb effectively," says Robert Johansen. "The introduction of yet another source of information could make many situations worse rather than better," he concludes (5). If Johansen's observations are valid for the general public, their legitimacy for people of color and the poor are undoubtedly even more pervasive. This suggests that higher levels of technological advancement in the area of telecommunications will not necessarily result in more diversified points of view, less impartial information, higher quality programming or greater access to informational or entertainment programming.

Since most of the emerging technologies involve substantial programming costs and since the constituents of narrowcasting are the affluent, once broadcasting is deregulated (except in technical areas), there will be little incentive for broadcasters or controllers of the new technologies to provide quality information or entertainment to those less affluent and unable to afford the expensive fare of programming. Moreover, if the current programming available via new technologies is any indication of diversification, then it is not likely that there will be any significant program changes in relation to what is already available.

Tracy Westen's comments support this point:

> Pay television and new technologies (such as videodiscs) allow individual consumers to select and purchase programming free from the constraints of mass marketing, advertiser pressure and other creative barriers. Yet, *the high cost of program production may still curtail experimentation and diversity* . . . More significantly, direct consumer purchasing programming may place a premium on wealth leaving the poorer veiwer with lowest common denominator mass produced fare. (emphasis added) (6)

And, a recent article in *Business Week* further supports the point:

> The only thing that everyone is certain of is that viewers in the 1980s—not the networks or stations—will have control of what they see. To get it, they will pay, but no one is sure how much or for how much control. (7)

While some viewers will pay, and by extension control what they see, the more important consideration is: How many people will be able to pay—particularly minorities?

Proposition C: Minority Audiences Will Not Be a Major Consideration in Emerging Technologies or Subsequent Programming Needs Because

They Lack the Economic and Political Power to Control Technology in General

Federal Communications Commissioner Anne Jones highlights another set of considerations associated with new and emerging telecommunications technologies (8). These constraints may, in fact, affect the majority of the population, not only minorities and the poor. Commissioner Jones states that—

- rapid technological change brings with it "vast changes in social habits and lifestyle";
- increased computerization "could result in unemployment for large numbers of people"; and
- new and emerging technologies suggest decreased privacy.

Commissioner Jones' observations deserve further discussion.

To propose the type or degree of change that new and emerging telecommunications technologies will have on social habits and lifestyles is largely an academic argument, since many of these technologies are not yet on the market en masse or have not been on the market long enough for us to study their sociological effects. Yet there are several important points to consider in discussing the potential effects of such technologies. Several highly respected forecasters already have given serious thought to this topic.

Daniel Bell, a pioneering futurologist, for example, sketched the future world as an authoritarian technocracy, a society in which a small clique of professional and technical scientists literally would control all aspects of life (9). With near enthusiastic endorsement, President Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski supported Bell's predictions:

> The postindustrial society is becoming a "technetronic" society: a society that is shaped culturally, psychologically, socially and economically by the impact of technology and electronics—particularly in the area of computers and communications. The industrial process is no longer the principal determinant of social change, altering the mores, the social structure and the values of society. (10)

Brzezinski goes on to outline ten social patterns that will drastically change current lifestyles as the "technetronic era" emerges. Some of these changes can already be observed. Highlighting the loss of privacy that Commissioner Jones alludes to, Brzezinski observes that—

> [G]lobal telephone dialing that in the more advanced states will include instant visual contact and a global television-satellite system that will enable some states to "invade" private homes in other countries will create unprecedented global intimacy . . . That interdependence, however, is better characterized by interaction than by intimacy. Instant communications are already creating something akin to a global nervous system. Occasional malfunctions of this nervous system—because of blackouts or breakdowns—will be all the more unsettling. . . .(11)

A 1978 article on teleconferencing points to another area of decreased privacy: ". . . [T]he danger exists that the electronic global village would make society more vulnerable to eavesdropping, domestic espionage, and the possibility of oppressive dictatorship." (12) Of course, this does not mean that all new telecommunications technologies have these associative characteristics, but it is important to examine possible implications.

On the issue of high technology creating unemployment, the type of employment in relation to required skills is the critical consideration. Brzezinski predicts that there will be many employment-related problems, particularly obsolescent

skills " . . . and the psychic well-being of millions of relatively secure but potentially aimless lower-middle-class blue-collar workers [will become] a growing problem." (13)

Whether considering the present or the future state of the world in the age of high technology, the discussion is fundamentally a political one. In his presentation on the implications of new communications technologies, Nicholas Garnham highlights this political dimension:

> In short, questions of the relationship of a technology to a society are political questions. They concern the power relations within the society, the direction of its development, and the utilization of resources to that end. (14)

Following this argument, Herbert Schiller dispels the myth that technology (in general) is neutral or that it will necessarily benefit the majority of the people. He states—

> Technology which appears mainly, and is almost exclusively understood as visible machinery and hardware, lends itself admirably to the claim that it is neutral, value-free and employable under any social order. . . ."(15)

In fact, says Schiller, technology "originates in the systematic needs of the dominating class" and hence, weaker groups "are never considered, insofar as their genuine needs are concerned. . . ." (16)

If these charges hold any merit, there is the strong suggestion that the needs of racial and ethnic minorities and the powerless will not be a priority, if, in fact, they are considered at all. People of color and the poor may, in fact, wait endlessly for the benefits of new telecommunications technologies to "'trickle down' from the large and powerful multi-national corporations, and control may remain a 'top-down' phenomenon." (17) Although home use is growing, the majority of new telecommunications technology remains in the hands of the corporate and the business community. Kalba notes, however, that as home use grows, in order for consumers to benefit from these new technologies (in the case cited, personal computers), consumers need to know the following: ". . . how to operate an alphanumeric keyboard, be familiar with at least one programming language, and be willing to put up with the system's waiting time, outages, etc." If programming new data, Kalba adds, "he or she must comprehend conceptually the vertical three-branch protocol through which most of the information is accessed in this system." (18)

While there is some interest in the emerging technologies within the public telecommunications industry, especially regarding opportunities for delivering programming to small or special interest audiences, more research is needed on the question of how new technologies might complement the needs of "specialized audiences"—specifically the poor and people of color. Unfortunately, the current momentum seems to be in the direction of finding out how new technologies might better serve the corporate world and the elite. Already certain of this, the larger, better-endowed public television stations are exploring avenues that will invariably lead to commercialism. For example, WGBH-TV in Boston is exploring the feasibility of selling its programming to pay cable, to commercial television stations and to various home video and foreign markets. If this trend toward commercialization of public broadcasting continues and if greater attention is not given to the effects of new technologies on the "average working family," telecommunications technologies that evolve in the near future may, in fact, remain elitist in nature rather than serving the needs of the majority of the people. Because minorities and the poor lack the

political and the economic power to mold these technologies at the point of creation, and hence have little say in the subsequent creation of programming, it is not likely that the FCC or the CPB mandates to provide public telecommunications services for *all* (or even most) of the people can be met.

Toward a Tentative Research Agenda

The Office of Communication Research of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting formulated three major goals during its Symposium on Minority Audiences and Programming Research. These goals were as follows:

- to document the state of knowledge on minority audiences and their relationship to public and commercial broadcasting;
- to provide input for the design of a research agenda dealing with minority audience needs and minority-targeted programs; and
- to generate specific guidelines and/or decision-making tools for immediate and long-term use by public broadcasting personnel.

A fourth major agenda item, although not an express goal of the symposium, which surfaced throughout the proceedings and even dominated the discussion at times, was recognition of the dire need for immediate research on the impact of emerging and new telecommunications technologies (broadcast and nonbroadcast) on minorities and the degree of minority participation and involvement in these emerging technologies. The Office of Communication Research at CPB can play a significant role in conducting such research. Some of the questions that demand research include the following:

- What might the nature of public telecommunications be by 1990?
- How should the public telecommunications industry respond to the development of new telecommunications technologies such as cable, subscription TV, viewdata/teletext, videocassette devices, videodisc players, low-power television, direct broadcast satellites, etc.?
- What will be the availability of programming for these technologies in general, and what specific programming will be available to strengthen the control of public telecommunications by minorities?
- What should be done to encourage the use of nonbroadcast technologies to expand and enhance public telecommunication services to *all* American citizens?
- Why should the federal government strengthen its support for public telecommunications to include nonbroadcast technologies if these technologies are serving the same delivery functions as public radio or public television stations?
- How should new technologies (such as satellite broadcasting) be used to enhance the delivery of educational and cultural programming of high interest to people of color?
- Since the Federal Communication Commission regulates only the equal employment opportunity (EEO) practices of its broadcast licensees, will the EEO provisions of the Public Telecommunications Financing Act of 1978 provide adequate safeguards against employment discrimination by controllers of the various nonbroadcast technologies that may be utilized by the public telecommunications system?

Difficult questions like these require a serious commitment of the public telecommunications industry if they are to be answered. At the very minimum, members of the research community must view such questions as legitimate and crucial questions that must go beyond discussion toward resolution and policy formulation.

Policies that can enhance public telecommunications services to people of color

are as endless as the technology itself. The public telecommunications system has an obligation to adopt policies "that will most effectively make public telecommunications services available to all citizens of the United States." (19) Policies regarding the impact of emerging telecommunications technologies on people of color are indeed part of that mandate:

> The right of free speech necessarily embodies the means used for its dissemination because the right is worthless in the absence of a meaningful method of its expression. To take the position that the right to be free from censorship of the content rather than any protection of the means used, would, if carried to its logical conclusion, eliminate the right entirely. The right to speak one's views closely restricted by the ban that prevented anyone from listening, would frame a hollow right. Rather, freedom of speech entails communication, it contemplates effective communications. (20)

The Role of the Public Telecommunications Industry

Under the Public Telecommunications Financing Act of 1978, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is mandated to investigate and explore the various new and emerging telecommunications technologies for distribution and dissemination of noncommercial, educational and cultural radio and television programs. Pertinent provisions of the Act that require CPB's active involvement in this type of investigation are the following:

> [I]t is in the public interest to encourage the growth and development of nonbroadcast telecommunications technologies for the delivery of public telecommunication services;
>
> [I]t is necessary and appropriate for the federal government to complement, assist and support a national policy that will most effectively make public telecommunications services available to all citizens of the United States. [Sec. 396 (a) (2), p. 97]

In order to carry out these purposes, subsection (a) authorizes the Corporation to—

> conduct (directly or through grants or contracts) research, demonstrations, or training in matters related to public television or radio broadcasting and the use of nonbroadcast communications technologies for the dissemination of *noncommercial* educational and cultural television or radio programs; (emphasis added) [Sec. 396 (a) (6)]
>
> make grants to contracts for the use of nonbroadcast telecommunications technologies for the dissemination to the public telecommunications services; [Sec. 396 (H)]
>
> take such other actions as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes set forth in subsection (a). [Sec. 396 (I)]

If CPB is to fulfill its mandate to facilitate the development of a *public* telecommunications system, one that will more effectively make public telecommunications services available to all citizens of the United States, a commitment of substantial resources to develop such research data should be made immediately. Such research and technological assessment should give particular attention to the impact of emerging telecommunications technologies on groups traditionally identified as "disadvantaged," groups who disproportionately make up the economically poor as well as the information poor. Only when sufficient data have been developed and analyzed will public telecommunications policy makers have the tools to ensure that the overall goals of the Communications Act and the benefits of technology serve all the citizens of the United States.

Some Innovative Uses of Advanced Telecommunications Technologies

Without the benefit of research, I wish nevertheless to suggest some novel uses of satellites that could better serve *all* audiences. First, assuming that a direct broadcast satellite (DBS) system becomes operable in the United States, access to just about everyone could become a reality. For example, it is conceivable that once DBS is in place and operating, the U.S. public telecommunications system could distribute practically all of its national programming fare via several channels of audio and video directly from a satellite to the home. This would free individual public radio and television stations from any obligation to air NPR and PBS materials directed at national audiences. The local broadcast stations could then be divested to local nonprofit groups as outlets for local self-expression. These new "public" stations would have available to them the full catalog of public television and radio programs in order to meet local programming needs and interests. Nonprofit groups or organizations controlled by people of color could be given priority or preference in the allocation of the available stations where no such station existed and where their population in the community was at least five percent.

Another use of new technology to enhance public telecommunication services to people of color involves the present satellite interconnection. Currently, public television has four transponders or channels assigned for program distribution. Innovative policies could prescribe each of the four public television channels to specific types of public programming, thus guaranteeing that all audiences would be served, and as a result, everyone would have access to diversity. For example, transponder one could be used exclusively for the distribution of educational and cultural programming; the second transponder could be reserved for teleconferencing, for emergency service and as a public access interactive channel; the third transponder could be assigned specifically for the distribution of performing arts programming—drama, fine arts and general entertainment appealing to a wide audience; and the fourth transponder could be used for the exclusive distribution of news, public affairs, informational and educational programming. A program such as *All Things Considered* serves as an example here.

Still another innovative use of technology that would enhance public telecommunication service to people of color would involve no new use of technology, but rather recognize the real beneficiaries of the technological revolution—the affluent. Since this group is most likely to own video recording devices, which are capable of recording television programs at any time, programs targeted to a limited but significant audience could be scheduled during what is ordinarily the sign-off hour and recorded for rebroadcast at a more convenient time by owners of the new videocassette machines. Prime-time programming of public educational and cultural programs could then be directed at the target audience consisting of people of color, women, children, the elderly and other disadvantaged groups.

Conclusions

Public telecommunications, like all technology, does not operate in a vacuum. The widespread development of new and emerging technologies coupled with deregulation efforts will guide and direct public telecommunications policy. If deregulation of commercial telecommunications influences the public telecommunications industry to become more commercial in orientation, people of color

will undoubtedly suffer. Ideally, public telecommunications will instead bear its responsibility to provide more and better informational and cultural programming to those who are otherwise unable to afford the benefits of emerging new technologies. Action-oriented research from within as well as from outside the public telecommunications community is needed to direct policies in order to avoid the unnecessary, yet ever-increasing gap between the information-rich and the information-poor.

Admittedly, technology can and often does lead to policy formulation. But, when policy involves all citizens' First Amendment rights, public resources and emerging technologies for the dissemination of speech, policy should not be formulated according to the whims of the marketplace alone. It is up to researchers to develop the facts to enable policy makers to make sound, reasoned and fair decisions in the public's interest. The CPB-sponsored Symposium on Minority Audiences and Programming Research is an outstanding example of the type of activity that can lead to the research necessary for the formulation of a progressive communications policy to benefit public broadcasting consumers, and perhaps expand the current audience. Similar efforts should be supported in the future—which is now.

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A COMMUNICATION RESEARCH AGENDA

Again and again, symposium participants emphasized the diversity of the minority peoples they represented and had researched. Similarly, their prescriptions for improved minority audience research programming revealed a rich diversity of approach and opinion. This final section of the report surveys the range of research suggestions offered by our participants, abstracts general themes about improving future research directions, and presents a list of specific communication research agenda items recommended by symposium participants at the culmination of the proceedings.

One theme pervading symposium sessions was the inadequacy of traditional audience research methods in efforts to improve the quality of program service to minority audiences. In efforts to survey minorities about their concerns, interests, program preferences, etc., existing survey research systems and methodologies are generally not designed to produce sufficiently large minority samples or to accommodate the special research procedures often needed to ensure reliable and valid measurement of phenomena under study. Traditional television and radio ratings services are similarly not geared to the study of minority group members, as they also underrepresent these peoples and impose majority-culture assumptions about respondent perspective, motivation and comprehension. The ratings system practice of lumping nonwhites into one category, furthermore, frequently was held forth as a symbol of general inattention to minorities and as an unfortunate means of perpetuating the "myth of the monolithic minority" as a simplistic solution of an all-too-complex research problem.

Generally, however, the insensitivity of traditional research procedures toward minority audience behavior and interests was seen as rooted in conceptual limitations and "anti-audience" biases in the larger field of mass communication research. The field's historic inattention to the complexities of the mass communication consumer and to the media consumption process, and the commercial sector's economic approach to information needs in audience research had established a theoretical void in which minority audience studies could only suffer from the larger field's conceptual and methodological inadequacies. Perhaps more than any other research area, minority audience research underscores the inadequacies of traditional mass communication studies.

For a more optimistic perspective, we can argue conversely that attention to the difficulties inherent in researching the programming needs, interests and behavior of minority audiences can, perhaps better than any other research investment, promise significant and related gains in theory, construct and measurement in the overall field of audience research.

A second symposium theme was the argument that improved programming, more effective minority audience research and better intergroup understanding and acceptance are system effects that can only be furthered with research taking a similar systems approach.

Repeatedly, and from different perspectives, participants emphasized that research designed to improve minority audience programming must be designed to accommodate and eventually control the larger systems in which programming material and viewer impacts are embedded. Isolated studies of only portions of the system are unlikely to yield complete information about processes that must be influenced, if desirable change is to occur.

For example, depending on the minority group in question and on the individual status and histories of those persons within it, desirable programming (in the consumer's opinion) may focus either on further majority-culture acculturation or on efforts to maintain the group's unique cultural heritage and prevent the erosion of tradition. The direction of the individual's needs and preferences (whether for acculturation, nativistic identity or bicultural self-image) depends on the system of that person's and that group's real-world survival needs, attitudes toward and use of different media, and on the intrinsic ability of those media to affect the impacts viewers desire.

Similarly, the undesirable consequences of underrepresentation and stereotyping of minority cultures affect majority media consumers as well as minority consumers. Also, it is the real-world system of daily interactions (or lack of them) between minority and majority persons that maintains or changes intergroup and interpersonal friction and inequity. Accordingly, a minority programming and/or research program intended to improve only minority group self-image, and not majority perceptions of that group (and not majority perceptions of the social and personal values of majority-minority interaction), is an incomplete and insufficient goal. Everyone loses in a system of discrimination, and a prosocial function of media is both to ease the entrance of minorities into mainstream affairs (if and where they so choose) and to introduce majority audiences to the strengths of minority lifestyles and the benefits of equitable interaction.

Finally, programming itself is the product of a system, and research intended to improve its desirability must understand and accommodate the program production and distribution processes. Attention to content portrayal, without analysis of the institutional sources of its inaccuracies and without an understanding of the complex influence of viewer perceptions of related social realities, is research directed at too small a portion of the system to effect practicable, real-world change in a desired direction. Research, to be action-oriented and to possess real-world applications value, must analyze the system's daily decision trees, identify institutional goals and decision-making incentives likely to influence desired programming changes, and help set reasonable, empirical and valuable goals for tracking the system's success or failure in responding to minority programming issues.

The third theme that emerged throughout symposium presentations and dis-

cussions was the contention that public broadcasting's commitment has traditionally been weakened by the lack of well-defined goals and objectives, permitting an unspoken programming ambivalence and ineffectiveness that refined, policy-relevant research could help reverse.

Programming objectives for the entire audience of public broadcasting, and for minority programming in particular, survive with the unaccountable freedom of mandates with largely undefined goal states (e.g., "excellence, diversity, innovation"). The "fuzziness" of such concepts can give the appearance of orderly programming intentions and activities, when, in truth, ambiguities and nondefinition result in unresolved conflicts between the incentive to gather large audiences and the rhetorical goal of serving minority audiences.

Research has a great capacity for policy relevance, when it captures rhetorical, far-ranging connotations within boundaries of operationalized measurement. Accountability and productive action are enhanced by such clarity of thought and action, as progress, irrelevance and error become easier to distinguish.

Research in public broadcasting has the opportunity to approach issues of minority audience programming with such specificity and policy relevance. Its battery of research tools can be specially adapted to help policy makers and programmers better define reasonable goals for minority audience service, to help track ongoing progress toward the achievement of those goals and to help distinguish those programming development, scheduling, promotion and evaluation activities most helpful in achieving related programming objectives.

The potential for content analysis, for example, to reach beyond frequency counts of appearance, to treat related dimensions of importance, evaluation and relationships of characters with each other and their environments is a subtlety most important to minority audience research, and one that may well benefit other mass communication research programs. Additionally, the new qualitative rating research undertaken by the Corporation generally helps further models for mass communication that emphasize an active and articulate audience of individuals. But it will be important to ensure the accommodation of minority audience information needs and special research procedures. Ascertainment research, which also seeks to enfranchise broadcasting audiences, is another research tool that requires sensitive adaptation to the study of minority programming activities.

Finally, in the new technologies arena, research has the potential—for minority audience programming in particular and for audience research in general—to examine popular assumptions about improved services and to suggest policy directions and operational decisions that maximize the potential of these new communication channels. The questions of minority audience service through new technologies raise larger questions about the economics of distributing related hardware and software, and whether or not a multiplicity of channels necessarily guarantees a multiplicity of programming services.

Additional recommendations for OCR's design of a responsive and scientifically sound research program in this area, derived from the three themes, are the following:

- Because traditional audience research methods have historically underrepresented minorities, OCR should develop cost-effective ways to sample minority audiences accurately.
- One effective sampling procedure would be to establish a national audience panel composed entirely of ethnic/

racial minority group members representing Asian Americans, Native Americans, blacks and Hispanic Americans in numbers large enough to represent the heterogeneity of these groups.

■ Encourage conceptual development, model building, theory construction and related research procedures sensitive to the special communication research requirements inherent in understanding the complexities of minority group interaction with broadcast material and effects of media portrayals on both minority and majority audiences.

■ Work toward the application of new and existing data to program decisions related to minority issues and audiences, emphasizing the importance of attuning local audience research (e.g., ascertainment) to minority audience service.

■ Develop new audience research methods capable of generating qualitative information about the extent to which minorities are satisfied with current programs and the kind of future programming that will better serve their needs and interests. Apply such special evaluation criteria in both formative and summative research efforts.

■ Adapt formative research methods in a manner that permits evaluating and enhancing a program's capacity to "mainstream" the concerns of minority audiences into general programming.

■ Determine factors beyond programming that influence minority audience use of public broadcasting. Specifically, examine the impact of (a) advertising and promotion; (b) institutional images of public broadcasting; (c) station/community relations; (d) production styles; and (e) the ratio of targeted to general audience programming.

■ Examine the impact of innovative technologies on public broadcasting service to minority audiences. Forecast the forms, functions, organization and content of new technologies with respect to the interests, needs and involvement of minorities throughout the next decade.

■ Commit resources to study the following areas, which lack enough research information to develop policy or programming strategies:

—Asian-American audience groups
—Native-American audience groups
—Intragroup differences within Hispanic or Spanish-speaking communities.
—Cross-cultural differences in audience groups related to social stratification as well as racial and ethnic characteristics.

■ Actively investigate all available means to ensure prompt dissemination of research findings. Research and devise a system for soliciting proposals from the university research community in response to emerging policy needs and agendas.

APPENDIX

Symposium Participants and Staff

Participants

Richard L. Allen

Assistant professor, Department of Communication, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Allen received his doctorate from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He has been active in minority affairs with the Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ) and has published extensively in the area of black American media habits.

George Bailey

Associate professor of mass communications, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. Bailey holds a doctorate in communication arts from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He is director of WUWM Radio, Milwaukee, a public station licensed to the university, and concentrates on making WUWM "an urban public radio station," to serve the variety of communities found in urban centers, as opposed to the "college town" model usually associated with established public radio stations.

Gordon Berry

Professor, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles. Berry holds a doctorate in education and did postgraduate work in counseling and psychology. He served as consultant for such programs as *Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids, Secret of Isis, The U.S. of Archie* and *30 Minutes.* Berry has published numerous articles in the areas of television and social behavior.

Frank Blythe

Executive director, Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium, Lincoln, Nebraska, an organization devoted to the promotion of Native-American culture in public broadcasting. Blythe has more than 20 years of experience in communications and has worked in radio and televison in the Midwest and Southwest. He studied radio and television at Arizona State University. Blythe sits on the Board of Directors of the Association of Educational Journalists and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and was a member of CPB's Task Force on Minorities in Public Broad-

casting. Blythe is a Sioux-Chippewa American Indian.

Nolan A. Bowie

Executive director, Citizens Communications Center (CCC), Washington, D.C. A public interest law firm, CCC provides legal and technical assistance, research and educational services to citizens and community groups. Bowie studied social science and sociology as an undergraduate and received his law degree from the University of Michigan. He was a member of the U.S. Delegation to the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) and served as a consultant to CPB's Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting and to the National Black Programming Consortium.

Janet Dewart

Former director of specialized audience programs, National Public Radio, Washington, D.C. Dewart was in charge of developing programs by and about minorities, women, the elderly and children. Her communication background includes work as a public relations officer, a writer and editor and a television and film producer, as well as study at Antioch College, Howard and Harvard Universities. She is now president of Dewart, Inc., a communications and management consulting firm.

E. B. Eiselein

Director of research, Authors and Anthropologists Services of North America, Inc., Kalispell, Montana. Eiselein served as research director, KUAT-TV/AM-FM, University of Arizona, Tucson. With a family history of 225 years in the newspaper business, he began a career in journalism, moving later into media anthropology. Most of his research has been on Mexican-American communication patterns. He recently conducted research among Southwest Indian tribes.

T. Paul Espinoza

Producer/director for minority programs, KPBS-TV, San Diego State University. Espinoza is responsible for long-range development of Hispanic programming, as well as other aspects of minority audience research. He is working on his doctoral dissertation in anthropology at Stanford University. The subject of his research is an anthropological analysis of a television studio, focusing on the communication process. Espinoza has taught communication courses at the University of California, San Diego.

John W. Fuller

Associate director of research, Public Broadcasting Service, Washington, D.C. Fuller worked in radio and television in Florida and studied radio, television and communication research at Florida State University and the University of Florida. He also worked in research for Arbitron and the Communication Research Center at the University of Florida.

Susan Futterman

Director of broadcast standards for children's programming, ABC-TV, Los Angeles. Futterman studied early childhood education at Pacific Oaks College, Harvard University and the Hamstead Clinic in London with Dr. Anna Freud. She served on the Advisory Board of *Freestyle* and worked with children's program producers in developing relations with minority communities.

Oscar Gandy Jr.

Assistant professor, mass communications, Howard University, Washington, D.C. Gandy also serves as coordinator of the Broadcast Production Sequence. He studied sociology and communication at the University of New Mexico and the University of Pennsylvania and holds a doctorate from Stanford University.

Gandy worked as a television writer/producer for a public affairs series targeted at minority communities and has published extensively in the area of economics of the mass media.

Mabel Haddock

Executive director, National Black Programming Consortium (NBPC), Columbus, Ohio, an organization involved with increasing black participation in public broadcasting. Haddock has worked in community arts, organizing grass-roots support for arts projects and has done research on consumer affairs for NBC in Cleveland. She is particularly interested in research questions and sees the NBPC moving into promoting research on black audiences and creating its own productions. Currently the organization gathers and distributes quality black productions for public broadcasting.

Thomas A. Hardy

Station manager, WAER-FM, Syracuse University. Hardy received his B.A. from Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, and his M.A. in radio and television from Michigan State University; he did graduate work at Harvard's School of Education. Hardy served as research director for CPB's Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting. His major research interests are broadcast policy development, research on broadcasting formats and minority-targeted communication research.

Sandra Heberer

Current affairs associate, Public Broadcasting Service, Washington, D.C. Heberer evaluates documentary proposals for their compatibility with PBS programming goals, as well as on their individual merit. She is interested in research as an aid to current affairs in understanding the public interest in documentary subjects and as a means to help producers submit better program proposals.

K. Kyoon Hur

Assistant professor, Department of Radio and Television, University of Texas, Austin. Hur received his doctorate in communication from the University of Oregon. His areas of research interest are mass media and specialized audiences, broadcast theory and research and international/intercultural communication. He is conducting a study of media behavior among Asian Americans and is interested in developing a comparative framework for analyzing media behavior across U.S. ethnic/racial groups. Hur worked in radio production for public radio in Oregon and for a Korean radio program in San Francisco.

David Liroff

Broadcast manager, WGBH Educational Foundation, Boston. Liroff oversees all programming for WGBH and WGBX and all local production done by the Educational Foundation. He is involved with *Say Brother* and *La Plaza*, two minority-targeted programs produced by WGBH. Liroff studied at Brooklyn College, New York, where he received a B.A. and M.A. He holds a doctorate in speech/radio/television/film from Northwestern University. He has worked in management, programming and engineering in commercial and public television and taught radio and television at Ohio University, Athens.

Chester Pierce

Professor of education and psychiatry, Faculty of Medicine, and Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. Pierce has published studies on the psychological implications of black portrayals in the mass media. He is serving on the Surgeon General's Committee, which will soon issue a new report on

television and human behavior. He also has been an advisor to the Children's Television Workshop and Action for Children's Television. Pierce serves as a visiting psychiatrist at Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston.

Nancy Signorielli

Research coordinator, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania. Signorielli received her doctorate at Annenberg where she wrote her dissertation on the characterizations of men and women in television drama. Her major research interest is characterization in television programming, and she is working on a study of occupational portrayals. She performed content analysis for CPB's Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting. Signorielli feels that little progress has occurred in the characterization of types of people by television programmers, and she would like to see dramatic changes in that area.

Stuart Surlin

Associate professor of communication studies, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario. Surlin received his doctorate in communications from Michigan State University. Among his many research projects are a study of broadcasters' perceptions of black audiences, social learning about minorities through television programs and a recently published report with the ABC research staff on the impact of the *Roots* series. Surlin is in Jamaica on a Fulbright Fellowship to study broadcasting.

Rick Tejada-Flores

Coordinating producer, Latino Consortium, Los Angeles. Based at KCET-TV, the consortium is an independent organization devoted to developing and promoting public broadcasting programs about Hispanic life. Tejada-Flores works with independent and industry producers and other programming personnel in creating and distributing programs. Early in his career, he worked at KQED-TV, San Francisco, through a Ford Foundation minority training program. He also was a film editor for ABC and a unit manager at NBC-Burbank. A free-lance filmmaker, Tejada-Flores has taught classes in communication at the University of California, San Diego.

Mary Umolu

Chairperson, Minorities in Telecommunications Committee, National Association of Educational Broadcasters. Umolu teaches communication at Medgar Evers College, Brooklyn, New York, and holds a doctorate in communication from the Union Graduate School. She received her B.A. and M.A. from Brooklyn College and studied at the RCA Institute in New York. Umolu served as head of television production for the Eastern Nigeria Broadcast Corporation.

Nicholas A. Valenzuela

Doctoral candidate, Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University. Valenzuela is conducting research on the Spanish-language television industry in the United States. His major interest is the decision-making process that determines which programs are made and how they are distributed around the world. He was a Fulbright Scholar in Mexico City and interviewed executives of Televisa, the major television-producing and- exporting company of Mexico. Valenzuela has worked on several studies of Mexican-American audiences in the state of Texas.

José Rivera

Member, Board of Directors, Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Rivera was appointed by President Carter and will

serve until March 1984. He is an attorney specializing in civil rights and equal opportunity law and a consultant on equal employment opportunities. Before joining the CPB Board, Rivera was general counsel for the National Latino Media Coalition and the Puerto Rican Media Action and Education Council, Inc., New York. He received his law degree from New York University and was a professor of law at Rutgers University.

Cheryl Strange

Associate manager, Radio Expansion, Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Strange has been with CPB since 1974, first as a consultant to the Project for the Print-Handicapped Study and later as radio special projects manager, concentrating on services for the print handicapped. In the Expansion Program, she works closely with minority applicants in their grant proposal activities.

Office of Communication Research Staff

Howard Myrick

Director, Office of Communication Research, Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Myrick is responsible for developing policy and managing CPB's research program. He has a B.A. in music education from Florida A & M University, an M.A. in cinema and a doctorate in communication and educational technology from the University of Southern California. He has lectured in telecommunications at Howard University and before coming to public broadcasting was director of the Armed Forces Radio-Television Service. Because of his involvement in international and cross-cultural media, he spent more than ten years abroad, working in Europe and Asia. He served as a consultant to CPB's Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting.

Carol Keegan

Associate director, Office of Communication Research, Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Keegan received a B.A. in psychology from Marywood College, an M.A. in radio and television and a doctorate in mass communications from Ohio University. As associate director, she assists in managing the overall CPB communication research program. She is especially involved in the development and application of innovative research methodologies in the area of qualitative program ratings and has conducted two conferences dealing with qualitative rating methods.

Tom Landini

Special projects manager, Office of Communication Research, Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Landini studied journalism, worked in public television production and management and was with CPB's Office of Television Activities before moving to OCR. He deals with minority audiences through local station research and target audience analysis projects. Landini is involved in verifying that outside contractors for CPB research meet equal employment opportunity requirements.

Mary Ann Robinson

Administrative assistant, Office of Communication Research, Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Robinson worked with the National Association of Broadcasters before coming to CPB. In addition to general OCR administration, she is responsible for computer input and access of Arbitron audience data for the office. She also served as conference co-

ordinator for the first of two conferences on qualitative ratings conducted by OCR.

Terry Coward

Research associate, Office of Communication Research, Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Coward studied communication management at Howard University and has worked in commercial and public broadcasting. She is involved in audience analysis for the *Righteous Apples* series, targeted at minority teenagers. She also worked on diagnostic testing of program pilots, including *Oye Willie* and *Up and Coming*, both dealing with minority family life.

Marilyn Diane Fife

Consultant to the Office of Communication Research and coordinator for the Symposium on Minority Audiences and Programming Research. Fife received her B.A. and M.A. in radio, television and film from the University of Michigan. She is a doctoral candidate at the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University, where her dissertation topic is FCC policy on minority ownership in broadcasting. Her major research interest is the relationship of minority group members to U.S. mass media institutions. In addition to her academic training, Fife has worked in several positions in commercial and public television.